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## IE NEWS

# 'ink tank' calls for the order priorities in Britain's sign relations to be changed

The philosophy of the generalist approach is judged inappropriate for all but a handful of officials destined for ambassadorial posts. If accepted the review staff's philosophy could have significant implications for recruitment and training in Whitehall as a whole.

Looking forward to the next 10 to 15 years, the review recommends greater flexibility of response to unforeseen changes, particularly in world economic conditions. It was not impressed during its 18 months investigation by the manner in which British overseas machine adapted itself to the formation of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (Opec) in the autumn of 1973.

A key word in the report is "commonality". The review became convinced that there need be no difference between the desk man in a Whitehall ministry formulating commercial policy, for example, and his counterpart in the Diplomatic Service disseminating that policy abroad.

Although the Diplomatic Service is unlikely to be abolished, ministers may well be impressed by the need for a greater interchange of home and foreign-based staff. Many more "firemen" will be flown out from London when needed abroad in preference to keeping a permanent man on the spot.

Although the team's primary brief was to review foreign policy objectives and methods, it has kept a sharp eye on costs. The areas examined have embraced diplomatic, defence, broadcasting, trade and cultural channels, with a heavy public expenditure amounts annually to about £350m gross. The figure falls to about

£300m when the earnings of the consular service, the Export Credit Guarantee Department and the British Council are subtracted.

The team questioned whether much of Britain's high-quality effort in terms of political reporting, secure communications and the levels of staffing they inspired, was necessary in as many parts of the world as are covered at present.

It concluded that the requirements of present policy, given the truncated role of Britain in the world, do not everywhere justify present expenditures of men, money and effort.

In 1975-76, for example, the country spent about £20m on telegrams, postal services and the use of the diplomatic bag. The report is judged in Whitehall to represent a "qualitative leap" from its predecessors, published by the Plowden and Duncan committees, in that it raises fundamental questions about the nature of external relations as well as their level.

The overriding importance of adopting a new approach has led some reformers within Whitehall to welcome the Prime Minister's objection to a new "super ministry" of overseas affairs.

If such a department were to be established, it is argued, the new institution could become dominated by diplomats of a traditional type, a result that would make change even more difficult than the present dispersed structure of responsibilities.

The report has been delayed by industrial trouble at the Stationery Office. It will not be considered by the full Cabinet until it is in printed form.

## 8ft fence at Wembley to hold back hooligans

By Norman Fox  
Football Correspondent

Large parts of the famous Wembley turf were probably being transplanted in Scottish gardens yesterday. The damage caused when more than 10,000 Scots invaded the pitch after Scotland's 2-1 defeat of England on Saturday was estimated by the groundsmen at about £5,000. Other damage to the stadium will cost £10,000 to repair.

More than 2,000 policemen and women, some on horses, were unable to stop the "invasion" but there is unlikely to be such a scene again because the Wembley authorities are to build an 8ft fence round the pitch.

Many Scottish supporters arrived in London on Friday and one of them dived to his death into a fountain at Trafalgar Square that afternoon. There were 289 arrests.

Most of the Scots were in good humour when they arrived at Wembley hours before the kick-off. They were even more jubilant when their team convincingly beat England.

At the final whistle thousands of them easily broke through the police cordon around the Wembley pitch and celebrated by taking souvenir turf. For a quarter of an hour the police could do nothing about what Mr Ted Croker, the Football Association secretary, described as "the worst invasion I have ever seen".

Eventually a line of police began to clear the pitch and they were helped by mounted colleagues, including one on a white horse, a reminder of 1933, when a police officer had to clear the pitch before the first Wembley FA Cup Final could begin.



Wembley hooliganism: Scottish supporters climbing over one of the goals (left), and Mr Don Gallacher, the head groundsmen, later inspecting damaged turf.

There was little serious violence on Saturday, but the pitch was so badly damaged that Wembley officials doubted whether it could be repaired in time for a schoolboys' international game on June 18.

Mr Len Went, a Wembley official said: "The pitch has been destroyed. I wish we had fences now. We thought we saw some damage here in 1967, when the Scots dug up the centre circle, but it was nothing like this devastation."

The Wembley authorities had already planned to build fences but there has been a delay in the manufacture. It is now hoped to have them in place in time for England's

World Cup qualifying match against Italy in November.

Mr Croker said: "We dare not allow this sort of thing to continue. I abhor the idea of fences, but nearly all the grounds on the Continent have them and we have no choice but to follow their example."

International regulations demand that any ground used for a European cup final must have a fenced pitch, but in Britain the authorities have been reluctant to fall in line.

Mr Howells, Minister with responsibility for sport, said yesterday that there was gate-crashing at the start of the new football season. It appeared that there were

more people in the stadium than there were legitimate tickets and he would be discussing that with Wembley officials. "Either a large number of forged tickets were about or some method of circumventing the turnstiles was being operated. The Football Association has to ask itself some questions about the distribution of tickets."

Mr Walter Johnson, MP for Derby, South, called on the Government yesterday to direct the Football Association to ensure that all grounds holding more than 10,000 people are fenced before the start of the new football season.

Match report, page 12

## New call for training of jobless youth

From Our Education Correspondent  
Harrogate

The National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education has added its voice to demands for an integrated policy on the education and training of unemployed young people.

The newly published Holland report, on which a government decision is expected within the next few weeks, recommends the abolition of jobcreation and training schemes organized by the Manpower Services Commission of the Department of Employment, and their replacement by a single work-experience and training programme under the auspices of the commission.

The report proposes that each young person taking a course in the programme would receive a tax-free maintenance allowance of £18 a week.

At the annual meeting of the association in Harrogate over the weekend, delegates representing 70,000 members in colleges of further education, teacher-training colleges and polytechnics welcomed the report as "a basis for... a large-scale integrated programme of education, training, work-experience and jobcreation projects compatible with the individual social and economic needs of young unemployed."

Despite opposition from the executive, delegates called on the Department of Education and Science to assume responsibility for such a programme.

Mr Thomas Driver, general secretary, said he was disappointed that no progress had been made on introducing minimum standards for teachers in further education.

## e Cabinet vote on C to avert split

Clark  
Correspondent

David Callaghan resigned to prevent a demonstration in the Labour Party next elections to the Parliament. Mr Clark is prepared to give a free vote on the Bill when it is in later this year to the poll.

Decision is likely to be by the Cabinet when this week or next, endorse a statement of the Bill, Mr Clark, Secretary of the Council and the Commons, when resumes next Monday Whitman recess.

Mr Clark had been told that a free vote would be allowed a free method of election, but the position on the Bill has been that they must be the second reading, the Bill for Mr Callaghan to the European Court.

Members who have strong reservations about the Bill or the regional election of election now include Mr Foot; Mr Benn, Secretary of Energy; Mr Secretary of State for the Environment; Mr John Silkin, of Agriculture; Mr

Booth, Secretary of State for Employment; and Mr Orme, Minister for Social Security.

Reports that Mr Benn and Mr Orme had indicated that they would resign rather than vote for the principle of the Bill could not be confirmed yesterday.

In government circles there was no direct confirmation of the "free vote" decision; it was suggested that MPs and the public should wait until Mr Foot makes his statement to Parliament next week.

Such a free vote would be seen as a remarkable constitutional precedent. In government quarters some attempt is being made to liken the situation to that which existed during the referendum on Britain's continued membership of the European Economic Community, when Sir Harold Wilson was Prime Minister. Ministers were then given free scope to campaign according to their beliefs.

But the present Bill is a government commitment. It has been promised in the Queen's Speech, and Mr Callaghan has pledged that the Government will use its best endeavours to get the Bill on the statute book in time for the elections to be held by the target date of May or June next year.

On such Bills it is generally assumed that the Cabinet accepts collective responsibility for getting the legislation through.

## Pay rush 'might affect North Sea oil surplus'

By Our Political Correspondent  
Political Correspondent

With the prospect of tough bargaining ahead to get trade union and government agreement on phase three of the incomes policy, Mr Healey, Chancellor of the Exchequer, warned the unions on Saturday that if there is a scramble for higher wages after July 31, the United Kingdom might get no surplus from North Sea oil, and there would certainly be a big increase in unemployment.

Having a nationwide audience in mind, Mr Healey had to cope with a running barrage of shouts and catcalls when he addressed the Nottinghamshire miners' rally.

Mr Healey began optimistically. He said that in late summer there would be the beginning of a steady fall in inflation, "and quite a sharp one with luck, because the increased petrol duty comes off in August and I hope we shall also have had another cut in mortgage rates."

Referring to his Budget statement, the Chancellor said that at that time "the experts" forecast an inflation rate of 13 per cent before the end of the year and single figures by this time next year.

That was based on the assumption that the nation's earnings as a whole, including overtime and so on, do not rise more than 10 per cent in the

next round; in other words, that the average increase in wage rates would be what it is today," he said.

"That is why what happens after-phase two is so important. If we can get inflation into single figures by a year from now we shall enter the era of North Sea oil in a good position to take full advantage of it."

Against the noise of interruptions, Mr Healey asserted: "If, on the other hand, we were left enough to go back to the sort of wage explosion we had two years ago, we might not have a surplus at all, and it is certain that unemployment would be rising to new heights."

Tory tax pledge: A Conservative Government would promote growth in the economy by big tax cuts, Mr Edward Taylor, MP for Glasgow, Cathcart, and Opposition spokesman on Scotland, said on Saturday.

It is the only way to encourage saving, investment and jobs creation," he told party supporters in Edinburgh.

"We will not waste oil revenues with mad nationalization schemes but will use them to promote investment and to give Scotland and Britain the right back-up for expanding industry and providing better transport services and good roads."

The aim must be to expand industrial output and keep industries modern and alive.

## £12,050 required to build average five-room house

The average price of a newly built private dwelling of five habitable rooms, including a kitchen but excluding bathrooms, in the United Kingdom in the third quarter of 1975 was £10,320 and in the first quarter of 1977 was £12,050, an increase of 16.8 per cent.

Employment, May 26  
Money values: The sums of £340 and £470 in April, 1955, and April, 1968, respectively had internal purchasing power equivalent to that of £1,000 in April, 1975.

Treasury, May 24  
Income tax: The numbers liable to tax on earnings of less than £1,500, less than £2,000 and less than £3,000 respectively by range of total net income are 1.8 million, 3.7 million and 5.1 million.

## Answers in Parliament

A periodic digest of information given in parliamentary written replies with the sources and dates on which they appeared in Hansard.

Low incomes: The number of people, counting husband and wife as one, whose total income was insufficient for them to be taxable in the years 1972-73, 1973-74 and 1974-75 was respectively 9.4 million, 8.2 million, and 7.7 million.

Treasury, May 26  
Tax relief: A breakdown of the £1,454m of tax reliefs for those

with net incomes of £4,000 or more a year is as follows: £4,000-£4,999, £5,000-£5,999, £6,000-£6,999, £7,000-£7,999, £8,000-£8,999, £9,000-£9,999, £10,000-£10,999, £11,000-£11,999, £12,000 and over, £244m.

Treasury, May 26

Bus and rail fares: The average increase in motor running costs, bus fares and rail fares respectively since February, 1974, has been 80 per cent, 100 per cent, and 115 per cent.

Transport, May 26

Pharmacists: The average profit for a pharmacist for a prescription and the average annual profit for a pharmacy on National Health Service prescribing, expressed in constant values in each of the past five years for which figures are available, were:

1972, 21p, £5.777; 1973, 22p, £6.004; 1974, 21p, £6.286; 1975, 21p, £6.351; 1976 (estimate), 20p, £6.469.

Social Services, May 23  
Interpol: The British contribution to the estimated costs of the International Criminal Police Organization, Interpol, for 1977-78 is £159,825. The annual cost of maintaining the national central bureau of Interpol at New Scotland Yard is estimated to be £420,000.

Home Office, May 27  
Nuclear fuel: The total throughput of spent magnox fuel reprocessed at Windscale in each year from 1970 to 1976, expressed in tonnes of uranium, was as follows: 1970-71, 1.17; 1971-72, 1.05; 1972-73, 765; 1973-74, 730; 1974-75, 1,121; 1975-76, 589; 1976-77, 935.

Energy, May 27

## zard of spreading weapon materials

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ue inquiry begins next to the controversial British Nuclear Fuels type of factory at Cumbria, to represent nuclear fuel from atomic power in Japan, Germany, Britain and elsewhere, which began before planning approval was from Cumbria County a year ago, has a strong opposition.

ject of reprocessing is the material into uranium, plutonium and fast-neutron reactors, and radioactive wastes for

issues that fan emotions on the subject.

The one hazard recognized on both sides of the argument is the potential spread of weapon materials.

In an address to the Royal Institute of International Affairs recently Dr Owen, the Foreign Secretary, said: "The world is increasingly forced to look to nuclear power as a means of sustaining life, in the full knowledge that nuclear power, if misused, adds to the danger of destroying life once and for all."

"None of us, nuclear and non-nuclear states alike, has yet fully come to terms with its implications. We have little time left in which to develop an international strategy to control the danger of nuclear weapon proliferation."

Security matters figure prominently in a statement from Mr Justice Parker on the arrangement for the Windscale inquiry. No evidence can be allowed that would prejudice national security, either by disclosing our own defence measures or by providing information that might help others to develop a nuclear weapons capability or improve an existing one.

Similarly, evidence cannot be allowed that might assist a terrorist organization to gain access or claim to have gained access to special nuclear materials.

Mr Justice Parker suggests that it would be in no one's interest if an endeavour to secure a rejection of the planning application was accompanied by a disclosure of information that would help others, over whom we have no control, to create their own supplies of plutonium, or that exposes nuclear installations in this country to vulnerability from terrorists.

There are several routes to making a nuclear bomb, but the two well established ones need either enriched uranium or plutonium. The Hiroshima bomb

was of the first type, and the one at Nagasaki used plutonium.

The critical mass for a weapon made from uranium-235 is about 50kg, and for plutonium-239 less than 10kg, and the first nuclear test, one of the six countries that have exploded devices used plutonium: China was the exception.

Uranium ores contain only tiny amounts of less than 0.7 per cent of the fissile isotope U-235. Yet a critical mass for a weapon contains more than 98 per cent of U-235; obtained hitherto from big, complicated and very expensive enrichment plants.

Secrecy surrounding the design of those plants has been one of the most effective blocks to the spread of strategically important material; however, new enrichment technologies have been devised that make things easier for less industrialized countries to acquire the skills, plant and raw materials for enrichment.

Plutonium does not occur in nature. It is made in nuclear reactors as part of the fission process and then extracted in a chemical reprocessing plant.

The first reactors were built specifically for plutonium production for military programmes several years before the possibility of harnessing atomic energy for electricity generation was attempted. Thus the dividing line between the commercial and the military potential of a nuclear power programme is a very fine one.

Development of nuclear weapons is formally quite a complicated business. For instance, the plutonium created in a reactor of a power station is usually so heavily contaminated with other isotopes of the same element as to make the material impractical for weapons manufacture.

Nevertheless, a country determined to produce its own nuclear explosives, as demonstrated by India, need not base its development exclusively on

power generation. A small and comparatively simple nuclear reactor with fuel rods of natural uranium metal will yield a material that most semi-industrial nations could convert to military use.

More than a hundred nuclear power stations are in operation in 15 countries, and another 16 countries will be introducing their first one during the next few years.

The fact that so many of the existing nuclear reactors among the industrial countries have refrained from weapon development owes much to their political stability: there is little doubt of their technical competence to undertake weapon work.

The question is whether what has so far held true for such nations as Sweden, Switzerland, West Germany and Japan will also apply to Argentina, Brazil, Pakistan, Iran, Egypt, South Korea and South Africa in the future.

The bulk of the power stations in operation, under construction and on order are of the American light water reactor design, using uranium fuel enriched to about 3 per cent.

One estimate suggests that the plutonium available from that type of power station reactor, provided reprocessing is adopted, may rise from seven tonnes two years ago to more than 90 tonnes by the turn of the century.

In terms of weapons, that represents an astronomical amount of strategic material. The total amount of fuel being processed will rise from 2,000 tonnes a year now to 200,000 tonnes by the year 2000.

That was the context in which President Carter viewed the issue when declaring a moratorium on reprocessing in the United States in the hope of encouraging a review by other countries of their plans. Moreover, the extensive and complicated policy behind Mr Carter's proposals have a direct bearing on the Windscale plans.

# The Commonwealth. A view from Prince Charles.



On June 8th The Times is publishing a Special Report on the Commonwealth with an introductory article specially written by H.R.H. The Prince of Wales.

In addition there will be contributions from Sir Harold Wilson and the former Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, Mr. Arnold Smith.

The Report will examine the role of the Commonwealth in the World, the triangular relationship between Great Britain, the Commonwealth and the E.E.C., the activities of various official and unofficial Commonwealth organisations, as well as the structure, objectives and significance of the Commonwealth Secretariat.

Also the vital role of British and

Commonwealth based Banks and other financial institutions in furthering trade within and beyond the Commonwealth will be examined closely, and a progress report made on the activities of the expert group set up in 1975 to explore how the gap between rich and poor nations might best be closed.

This Report marks the opening of the first Conference of Commonwealth Heads of Government to be held in London since 1969. This event, coupled with the Queen's Silver Jubilee and her recent overseas tours, makes 1977 a year of intense interest in Commonwealth affairs.

Read all about it in The Times next Wednesday.





## SOVIET CONSTITUTION

## Full text of the fundamental law proposed for the Soviet Union

This is the full text of the new draft Soviet constitution, published in Moscow for discussion and supplied by Tass.

Constitution (Fundamental Law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The great October socialist revolution, accomplished by the workers and peasants of Russia under the leadership of the Communist Party headed by V. I. Lenin, overthrew the power of the capitalists and landowners, broke the fetters of oppression and created a new type of state, the Soviet state, the basic instrument of the defence of revolutionary achievements and the building of socialism and communism.

The Soviet power has carried out profound social and economic transformations, put an end once and for all to exploitation of man by man, to class antagonisms and national enmities, established national ownership of the means of production, and assured genuine democracy for the working masses. A socialist society was created for the first time in the history of mankind.

A striking manifestation of socialism's strength was the unflinching exploit of the Soviet people and their armed forces, who won a historic victory in the Great Patriotic War. That victory shattered the international position of the forces of imperialism, opened up new favourable possibilities for the growth of the forces of socialism, national liberation, democracy and world peace.

In continuing their creative work the Soviet people have secured the nation's international position of the USSR and opened up new favourable possibilities for the growth of the forces of socialism, national liberation, democracy and world peace.

In continuing their creative work the Soviet people have secured the nation's international position of the USSR and opened up new favourable possibilities for the growth of the forces of socialism, national liberation, democracy and world peace.

This is a society in which the living standard of the people is rising steadily and increasingly, favourable conditions are taking shape for the all-sided development of the individual.

This is a society in which the organization, ideological commitment and political consciousness of the working people, who are patriots and internationalists, have attained a high level.

This is a society in which the

law of life is the concern of all for the welfare of each, and the cultural of each for the welfare of all.

This is a society of true democracy, the political system of which assures the effective administration of all social affairs, the increasingly active participation of the working people in state affairs, and the combination of genuine rights and duties of man with a sense of civic duty.

Developed socialist society is an objectively necessary stage on the road to communism.

The supreme purpose of the Soviet state is to build a classless, communist society. The principal tasks of the state are: to build the material and technical basis of communism; to perfect socialist relations and transform them into communist relations; to mould the citizen of communist society; to raise the living standard and cultural level of the working people; to ensure the country's security, to help strengthen peace and to promote international co-operation.

The Soviet people:

Guided by the ideas of scientific communism and remaining true to their revolutionary traditions:

Based on the great social, economic and political achievements of socialism:

Striving to further develop socialist democracy:

Taking into account the international position of the USSR as part of the world socialist system and conscious of their international responsibility:

Preserving the continuity of the ideas and principles of the 1918 Constitution of the RSFSR, the 1924 Constitution of the USSR and the 1936 Constitution of the USSR:

Proclaim the aims and principles, define the foundations of the organization of the socialist state of the whole people and formalize them in this constitution.

1. Principles Underlying the Social, Political and Economic Structure

Article 1. The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of the whole people, expressing the will and interests of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia of all the nations and nationalities in the country.

Article 2. All power in the USSR shall be vested in the people.

The people shall exercise state power through the Soviets of People's Deputies, which constitute the political foundation of the USSR.

All other organs of state shall be under the control of and accountable to the Soviets.

Article 3. The Soviet state shall be organized and shall function in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism. Elections of all organs of state power from top to bottom, their accountability in the people, and mandatory fulfilment of the decisions of higher organs by lower organs. Democratic centralism shall combine single leadership with local initiative and creative activity, with the responsibility of each state organ and official for the work at hand.

Article 4. The Soviet state, all organs, shall function on the basis of socialist legality, and ensure the protection of law and order, the interests of society and the rights of citizens. State institutions, public organizations and

officials shall observe the Constitution of the USSR and Soviet laws.

Article 5. The most important matters of state shall be submitted to discussion by the whole people and put to a vote (referendum) by the whole people.

Article 6. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the leading and guiding force of Soviet society and the nucleus of its political system, of all state and public organizations. The CPSU exists for the people and serves the people.

Armed with the Marxist-Leninist teaching, the Communist Party shall determine the general perspective of society's development and the guideline of its internal and external policy of the USSR, give guidance to the great creative endeavour of the Soviet people and place their struggle for the triumph of communism on a planned, scientific basis.

Article 7. In accordance with their statutory purposes, the trade unions, the All-Union Leninist Young Communist League, the co-operatives and other mass public organizations shall participate in the administration of state affairs, in the solution of political, economic, social and cultural questions.

Article 8. The principal orientation of the development of Soviet society's political system shall be the further unfolding of socialist democracy, increasing participation of the working people in the administration of the affairs of society and the state, continuous improvement of the state apparatus, enhancement of the activity of public organizations, intensification of control by the people, strengthening of the legal foundations of state and social life, extension of publicity, and constant account of public opinion.

Chapter 2. The Economic System

Article 9. Socialist ownership of the means of production shall be the foundation of the economic system of the USSR. Socialist ownership shall comprise: state property (belonging to the whole people); property of collective farms and other cooperative organizations (collective-farm-cooperative property); and property of trade unions and other public organizations.

The state shall protect socialist property and create the conditions for its enlargement.

Nobody shall have the right to use socialist property for personal gain.

Article 10. State property, i.e. property belonging to the whole people, shall be the principal form of socialist ownership.

The land, its minerals, waters and forests shall be the exclusive property of the state. The state shall be in possession of the basic means of production: industrial, building and agricultural enterprises, means of transport and communication, and also the banks, distributive enterprises and community services and the bulk of urban housing.

Article 11. The property of the collective farms and other cooperative organizations, and of their associations, shall be the means of production and other property serving the requirements of their statutory purposes. The land held by collective farms shall be allocated to them on their free use for an unlimited term.

The state shall facilitate the development of collective-farm cooperative ownership, its approximation to state ownership.

The property of the trade unions and other public organizations

shall be the properties they require to perform their statutory functions.

Article 12. In their personal possession citizens of the USSR may have earned incomes and savings, a house, a subsidiary business, and articles of everyday use and personal consumption and convenience. The right of citizens to personal property and also the right of citizens to inherit personal property shall be protected by the law.

Citizens may have the use of plots of land allocated by the state or collective farms under the procedure defined by the law, a subsidiary business (including the maintenance of livestock and poultry), gardening and vegetable growing, and also for the building of individual houses.

Property in the personal ownership or use of citizens shall not be a means of deriving non-earned incomes or damaging society.

Article 13. The free labour of Soviet people shall be the basis of the growth of social wealth and the welfare of the people, of every Soviet citizen.

The state shall control the measure of labour and consumption in accordance with the principle: "From each according to his ability, in each according to his work." It shall determine the size of the income tax and establish the level of wages exempted from taxes.

Article 14. Socially useful work and its results shall determine a citizen's status in society. By combining material and moral incentives the state shall help turn labour into the prime need in life of every Soviet citizen.

Article 15. The supreme purpose of social production under socialism shall be the fuller possible satisfaction of the people's growing material and spiritual requirements.

Relying on the creative initiative of the working people, the socialist ennoblement movement and the achievements of scientific and technical progress the state shall ensure the growth of labour productivity, the enhancement of efficiency in production, and the improvement of the quality of work, and the dynamic and proportionate development of the national economy.

Chapter 3. Social Development and Culture

Article 16. The Soviet state shall create the conditions for the socialist ennoblement of its citizens, erasing the essential distinctions between town and countryside and between labour by hand and by brain, and further developing and drawing together all the nations and nationalities of the USSR.

Article 17. In accordance with the development of each is the condition of the free development of all. The Soviet state shall pursue the aim of expanding the possibilities for citizens to develop and apply their creative strength, abilities and talents, for the all-round development of the individual.

Article 18. The state shall show concern for improving working conditions and for reducing and ultimately abolishing arduous manual labour completely through automation of production.

Article 19. The programme of turning agricultural labour into a career, industrial labour, enlarging the network of public education, cultural, medical, community services, trade and public utility organizations in rural localities, and transforming villages into modern townships, shall be consistently implemented.

Article 20. The state shall lead, rapidly pursue the policy of raising the level of remuneration for labour and the real incomes of the working people in line with the growth of labour productivity.

Social consumption funds shall be created for the purpose of more fully satisfying the needs and interests of the members of society. With the broad participation of public organizations and work collectives the state shall ensure the growth and just distribution of these funds.

Article 21. In the USSR a state system of health protection, social security, community services, public catering and public utilities shall function and develop.

The state shall encourage the work of cooperative and other public organizations and providing services for the population.

Article 22. The uniform system of education in the USSR shall serve the communist education, cultural and physical development of young people, their training for work and social activity. In the USSR education shall be free.

Article 23. In accordance with society's requirements, the state shall ensure the planned development of most of science and the training of scientific cadres, and organize the application of the results of scientific research in the national economy and other spheres of life.

Article 24. The state shall show concern for protecting and nurturing society's cultural values, and for their broad utilization to raise the cultural level of Soviet people.

In the USSR the development of professional and amateur art shall be given every encouragement.

Chapter 4. Foreign Policy

Article 25. The Soviet state shall consistently pursue the Leninist policy of peace and stand for the consolidation of the security of peoples and broad international cooperation.

The foreign policy of the USSR shall be aimed at ensuring favourable international conditions for the building of communism in the USSR, at strengthening the positions of world socialism, supporting the struggle of peoples for national liberation and social progress, preventing wars of aggression and consistently implementing the principle of



Two men study the text of the constitution on a newspaper bulletin board in Moscow.

The draft of the new Soviet constitution was published yesterday for national debate. It guarantees citizens equality before the law irrespective of origin and attitude to religion. For the first time there is a special chapter on foreign policy.

Article 15. The economy of the USSR shall be an integral economic complex embracing all the elements of social production, distribution and consumption on the territory of the USSR.

The economy shall be managed on the basis of state plans for economic development with due account for the branch and territorial principles, and combining centralized leadership with the economic independence and initiative of enterprises, associations and other organizations. Hereby use shall be made of cost accounting, profit and production costs.

Article 16. Collectives of working people and public organizations shall participate in the management of enterprises and associations, in deciding matters concerning the organization of labour and everyday life, and the use of funds allocated for the development of production and also for cultural and material requirements and material incentives.

Article 17. Individual occupation in handicrafts, agriculture and everyday services for the population, and likewise other forms of occupation based exclusively on the individual labour of citizens shall be permitted in the USSR in accordance with the law.

Article 18. In the interests of the present and future generations the necessary steps shall be taken in the USSR to protect, and make scientifically substantiated, national use of the land and its minerals, flora, and fauna, to preserve the purity of the air and water, ensure the reproduction of natural wealth and improve man's natural environment.

Chapter 3. Social Development and Culture

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The state shall encourage the work of cooperative and other public organizations and providing services for the population.

Article 22. The uniform system of education in the USSR shall serve the communist education, cultural and physical development of young people, their training for work and social activity. In the USSR education shall be free.

Article 23. In accordance with society's requirements, the state shall ensure the planned development of most of science and the training of scientific cadres, and organize the application of the results of scientific research in the national economy and other spheres of life.

Article 24. The state shall show concern for protecting and nurturing society's cultural values, and for their broad utilization to raise the cultural level of Soviet people.

In the USSR the development of professional and amateur art shall be given every encouragement.

Chapter 4. Foreign Policy

Article 25. The Soviet state shall consistently pursue the Leninist policy of peace and stand for the consolidation of the security of peoples and broad international cooperation.

The foreign policy of the USSR shall be aimed at ensuring favourable international conditions for the building of communism in the USSR, at strengthening the positions of world socialism, supporting the struggle of peoples for national liberation and social progress, preventing wars of aggression and consistently implementing the principle of

Article 15. The economy of the USSR shall be an integral economic complex embracing all the elements of social production, distribution and consumption on the territory of the USSR.

The economy shall be managed on the basis of state plans for economic development with due account for the branch and territorial principles, and combining centralized leadership with the economic independence and initiative of enterprises, associations and other organizations. Hereby use shall be made of cost accounting, profit and production costs.

Article 16. Collectives of working people and public organizations shall participate in the management of enterprises and associations, in deciding matters concerning the organization of labour and everyday life, and the use of funds allocated for the development of production and also for cultural and material requirements and material incentives.

Article 17. Individual occupation in handicrafts, agriculture and everyday services for the population, and likewise other forms of occupation based exclusively on the individual labour of citizens shall be permitted in the USSR in accordance with the law.

Article 18. In the interests of the present and future generations the necessary steps shall be taken in the USSR to protect, and make scientifically substantiated, national use of the land and its minerals, flora, and fauna, to preserve the purity of the air and water, ensure the reproduction of natural wealth and improve man's natural environment.

Chapter 3. Social Development and Culture

Article 19. The Soviet state shall create the conditions for the socialist ennoblement of its citizens, erasing the essential distinctions between town and countryside and between labour by hand and by brain, and further developing and drawing together all the nations and nationalities of the USSR.

Article 20. The state shall lead, rapidly pursue the policy of raising the level of remuneration for labour and the real incomes of the working people in line with the growth of labour productivity.

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Chapter 3. Social Development and Culture

working people and the cause of peace, or for participating in a revolutionary or national liberation movement, or for progressive social, political, scientific or some other creative activity.

The Basic Rights, Freedoms and Duties of Citizens of the USSR

Article 29. Citizens of the USSR shall possess in their entirety the social, economic, political and personal rights and freedoms proclaimed and guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR and Soviet laws. The socialist system shall ensure extension of rights and freedoms and uninterrupted improvement of the conditions of life of citizens relative to the fulfilment of programmes of social, economic and cultural development.

Exercise by citizens of rights and freedoms must not injure the interests of society and the state, and the rights of other citizens.

Article 30. Citizens of the USSR shall have the right to work, i.e. to guaranteed employment and remuneration for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality, including the right of choice of profession, type of occupation and employment in accordance with their vocation, abilities, training, education, and with due account for the needs of society.

This right shall be ensured by the socialist economic system, steady growth of the productive forces of society, free vocational training, improvement of skills, and training in new trades and professions.

Article 31. Citizens of the USSR shall have the right to rest and leisure.

This right shall be ensured by the 41-hour working week for industrial, office and professional workers and a reduced working day for a number of trades and occupations and reduced working hours at night time; provision of annual paid leaves, weekly days of rest, and training in new trades and professions.

Article 32. Citizens of the USSR shall have the right to health protection.

This right shall be ensured by free competent medical care rendered by state health institutions, development and improvement of safety techniques and sanitation in production, extension of the network of medical and health-building institutions; by broad preventive measures, and measures of environmental improvement; special care for the health of the young, guaranteeing prohibition of child labour; furtherance of scientific research directed to preventing and reducing the incidence of diseases and ensuring a long active life for citizens.

Article 33. Citizens of the USSR shall have the right to housing.

This right shall be ensured by the development and protection of state and public housing, assistance to cooperative and individual housing building, fair distribution of public control of housing, allotted with reference to the implementation of the housing programme, and likewise by low rent.

Article 34. Citizens of the USSR shall have the right to education.

This right shall be ensured by free education at all levels, universal compulsory secondary education of the youth, extensive development of vocational, secondary specialized and higher education linked to life and production; by development of education by correspondence and evening education; provision by the state of scholarship grants and other benefits to pupils and students; free issue of school textbooks; the opportunity for instruction in schools in the mother tongue; by development of the system of professional orientation and provision of conditions for the self-education of working people.

Article 35. Citizens of the USSR shall have the right to use the achievements of culture.

This right shall be ensured by public access to the values of home and world culture preserved in state and public repositories; by development and balanced distribution of cultural institutions in the country; and by expanding cultural exchanges with other countries.

Article 36. Citizens of the USSR shall have the right to take part in the administration of state and public affairs.

Citizens of the USSR shall elect and may be elected to the Soviets of People's Deputies, shall take part in discussing and drafting legislative Bills and decisions at all union and local levels, in the work of state organs, cooperative and other public organizations, in controlling their activity, in administering production and the

affairs of work collectives, and in holding on to the principle.

Article 49. Every citizen of the USSR shall have the right to state organs and organizations proposals, criticisms, suggestions, and demands. Shortcomings in their work shall be obliged to be established by law to ensure and request of to apply to them and action.

Persecution for criticism is prohibited.

Article 50. In conformity with the interests of the work and for the purpose of strengthening the socialist system of the USSR shall be guaranteed freedom of speech, assembly, meeting, strike, and demonstration.

Exercise of these rights shall be ensured by the state organs and organizations, and the right to using the press, and radio.

Article 51. In conformity with the aims of building co-citizens of the USSR shall be the right to unite in public organizations for the development of their political activity, and satisfaction of their interests.

Article 52. Freedom of scientific activity shall be guaranteed, as shall any religious and religious rites or not to conduct religious activities, and for all citizens of the USSR the freedom of religious grounds is prohibited.

The church in the USSR is separated from the state and the state from the church.

Article 53. The family under the protection of the state shall be inviolable. Marriage shall be entered into on a voluntary basis, and spouses shall be completely equal in the marital relations.

Article 54. Citizens of the USSR shall be guaranteed inviolability of their private life. No person shall be subjected to arrest or other measures of a court of law without the sanction of a prosecutor.

Article 55. Citizens of the USSR shall be guaranteed inviolability of the home. No person shall be subjected to searches of the home without the sanction of a prosecutor.

Article 56. The privacy of correspondence, a conversation, telegrams, messages shall be protected by law.

Article 57. Respect for individual protection of the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens shall be the duty of all organs of public organization and officials.

Citizens of the USSR shall have the right to legal aid against attempts on their part to infringe on their property and personal honour and dignity.

Article 58. Citizens of the USSR shall have the right to file complaints against officials in state organs and organizations. These complaints shall be examined by officials in state organs and organizations, and within terms defined by law.

Actions of officials in violation of the law, or abuse of the powers vested in them, may be referred to court of law in the manner provided by law.

Citizens of the USSR shall be obliged to observe the constitution of the USSR, Soviet laws, and to bear witness to the high calling of citizen of the USSR.

Article 60. It shall be of, and a matter of honour for every able-bodied citizen of the USSR to work conscientiously for the socialist construction, and strictly to labour and production of the USSR.



## JET CONSTITUTION

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of equal Soviet socialist republics. The Soviet Socialist Republics shall be part of a territory or region. The status of autonomous republics shall be approved by the Supreme Soviet of the Union.

70. The 15 republics in the USSR.

71. Every union republic shall retain the right freely to leave the USSR.

72. The jurisdiction of the Soviet Socialist Republics shall be represented by its own state power and shall extend to the administration of the republics.

73. The laws of the USSR shall be the basis of the laws of the republics.

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## WEST EUROPE AND OVERSEAS

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From Moshe Brillant  
Tel Aviv, June 5

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The ultra-orthodox Agudat Yisrael Party, which has four seats in the Knesset, agreed today to join or support the Government, subject to ratification by a council of Torah sages comprising 11 venerable rabbis.

Together with Mr Beigin's Likud, the National Religious Party and Mr Moshe Dayan, they would give the coalition 63 of the 120 Knesset seats.

Mr Beigin is expected to receive the mandate officially on Tuesday from President Katzir who today completed his round of consultations with party leaders.

A senior Likud source said the party wanted to present the Cabinet to Parliament on June 15. Mr Beigin still hoped to broaden his coalition by incorporating Professor Yigal Yadin's Democratic Movement for Change (DMC), with 15 seats, and the Agudat Yisrael Workers with one.

Teams representing the DMC and Likud conferred today for more than two hours trying to bridge differences over foreign affairs and Jewish settlement in the occupied Arab areas.

They will meet again on Tuesday when it will be decided whether to continue the talks. The parties have not yet found a formula to bridge Likud's opposition to withdrawal from the West Bank and the DMC's advocacy of territorial compromise for peace.

On the settlement question, Likud proposed that all new Jewish settlements in the West Bank should require Government approval but the DMC feared the Likud-dominated Cabinet would be too generous with permits demanded that Cabinet consent must be unanimous.

Another bone of contention was the foreign affairs portfolio which the DMC wants for Professor Yadin and which Likud has offered to Mr Dayan.

An Agudat Yisrael leader said today the party will ask the Council of Sages later this week to approve their entering the coalition nor at least voting for it in Parliament.

They did so after getting favourable responses to a series of religious demands. General Ezer Weizman, who is expected to be Defence Minister, told them that girls who produce legal declarations that they object to conscription for military service on religious grounds will be asked no questions and will be released from service.

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The Social Democratic Party and the Centre Democratic Party met twice in the past few days to devise a "democratic convergence policy" and strengthen their opposition in Parliament to the Socialist Government led by Dr Mario Soares.

President Eanes has been kept informed of the intentions of the two parties through personal contact with their leaders, Dr Francisco Sá Carneiro of the Social Democrats and Dr Freitas do Amaral of the Centre Democrats.

The President, whose political avatars are becoming more apparent as the country's social, economic and political crisis continues, is expected to address the population during the celebrations on June 10 of the "day of the Portuguese communities" (which is dedicated to the soldier-poet Camões).

Two important political meetings are taking place this weekend. In Lisbon the Communist Party, led by Dr Álvaro Cunhal, is holding a national conference to put forward alternatives to the Government's economic policy.

In Coimbra the Centre Democratic Party's political committee is meeting behind closed doors.

Then there is Mr Giuseppe Casale, Secretary of the Administration of the Property of the Holy See, a post which brings him directly in contact with Cardinal Villot, the Secretary of State.

Much more than a question of candidates is involved. The position of Cardinal Villot himself is becoming more interesting as the end of the reign comes nearer. As Cardinal Villot has allowed himself to be overshadowed by his more vigorous Under-Secretary, but in the event of the Pope's death, the Cardinal-Secretary is in charge of the church's affairs during the interregnum. He may now feel that the choice of successor to Cardinal Benelli should reflect his wishes as events will one day inevitably remove him from the semi-secrecy which for years he has accepted.

All that is known about his outlook is that he does not question that a choice has indeed been made and that the sooner the announcement is made the better. The Pope is also expected to see Cardinal Villot's Secretary of State, Casale, who handles the church's foreign affairs. It would be understandable if the Pope to give all the honours in one direction, namely to Cardinal Benelli.

And finally there is the great question of the Pope's own intentions. He will be 80 in September, the age at which he is usually expected to retire. The Italian bishops, which are the most important part of the church's hierarchy, are also a close friend of Cardinal Villot. The Italian Prime Minister, who is still leading the delicate task of a practical alliance between Christian Democrats and Communists, is also a close friend of Cardinal Villot.

Another possibility is Mr Angelo Felici, now the Nuncio in Portugal after having served in Poland. Felici is regarded as a highly important part of the church's hierarchy. He is also a close friend of Cardinal Villot. The Italian Prime Minister, who is still leading the delicate task of a practical alliance between Christian Democrats and Communists, is also a close friend of Cardinal Villot.

They may in the future take more formal powers, in which case Cardinal Benelli and the hierarchy would provide a counterweight to an alliance between Christian Democrats and Communists.

At the very least, Cardinal Benelli would see that the church's prerogatives were respected. And then, at the next conclave to elect the Pope's successor, he will have a voice of great weight. He will be able to organise the Italian votes, which amount to a strong element even if not what they were. His knowledge of the machinery of the church and his international personality will lend him much authority. And then, no doubt, some of the resentments against him will have worn off.

Whoever succeeds him will have to keep up a staggering level of efficiency. Current complainers no doubt will be saying in a few years' time how things went so much more smoothly in Cardinal Benelli's day.

As for the succession to the post of Under-Secretary, Villot's point appears certain. The Pope has made up his mind who it should be, but for reasons of his own does not wish to announce his choice for the moment.

Short lists are on most Vatican briefing pads. Mr Achille Silvestrini, the Under-Secretary of the Department for Public Affairs, was a favourite but says frankly that it is not him. Mr Pio Laghi, the Apostolic Nuncio in Argentina, is frequently mentioned. So is Mr Luigi Poggi, the Vatican's travelling ambassador.

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Commonwealth conference: Heads of government seen arriving at Heathrow for the meeting which opens at Lancaster House, London, on Wednesday are (from left): the Prime Minister of Singapore and Mrs Lee Kuan Yew, President Makarios of Cyprus, and the Prime Minister of the Bahamas and Mrs Pindling. Other Commonwealth leaders in London yesterday were: Leabua Jonathan, Prime Minister of Lesotho; President Banda of Malawi; and Mr Somare, Prime Minister of Papua New Guinea. Lieutenant-General Akuffo is representing Ghana.

## Rhodesian holiday resort hit by mortars

From Our Correspondent Salisbury, June 5

A white mechanic was slightly injured by flying shrapnel when the Rhodesian holiday resort of Kariba was subjected to a half-hour mortar attack last night.

There was no serious damage and life returned to normal today. The mortar attack was described today by a witness as coming from the Zambezi bank about four miles downstream from the dam wall.

Two mortar bombs were fired first and then landed lower down the hill from the resort. Then followed accurate shots which landed in the township's centre not far from a shopping centre and a country club. One mortar exploded on the roof of an unoccupied office building, owned by the Central African Power Corporation, which runs the Kariba power station.

Residents and holidaymakers were enjoying the amenities of the resort and having early evening drinks when the bombing began. A wedding reception for 150 people at an hotel was held up but resumed when the bombardment ceased. An hotel manager said today that people had taken the incident in their stride and made a joke of it.

There was no official Rhodesian Government comment today but a communiqué last night merely announced the attack and said that Rhodesian forces retaliated.

On Friday night, the power line between Kariba and Salisbury was sabotaged, interrupting electricity supplies for a while.

An attack of some sort was expected from Zambia since President Kaunda put his country on a war alert against Rhodesia on May 16 in response to a warning from the Rhodesian Government that its forces might strike into Zambia if guerrilla attacks from that country did not stop.

According to reports here, the Zambian Army has since attacked the Victoria Falls holiday resort and the Kazungula border post, about 40 miles to the east of the falls. Two weeks ago there was a short burst of machine gun fire across the Kariba Dam wall from Zambia, but yesterday's attack is believed to have been the first mortar strike.

A Rhodesian military spokesman said today this attack had been confirmed by three eye witnesses who saw flashes and dust from the rocket launch vehicle and by the line of flight traced back from the point of impact of an unexploded missile.

"These all clearly indicate that the position of delivery was without doubt from within Zambian territory", the spokesman added.

## 500 Brazilian students held

Belo Horizonte, Brazil, June 4.—About 500 students were arrested here today for attempting to hold a banned national students' congress to demand "democratic liberties".

Some 150 students were arrested in a city where 350 students were seized at the Minas Gerais University faculty of medicine and taken away for interrogation in eight buses.—Agence France Presse.

## BP money 'went to Saudi Arabian official'

From Frank Voelz Economics Correspondent Washington, June 5

Documents on file with the United States Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) indicate that a British Petroleum (BP) subsidiary made substantial commission payments to business agents in Saudi Arabia. BP itself believes that some of these payments went to a Saudi Government official and that some were made with the knowledge and agreement of the Saudi Government.

The Government of Saudi Arabia has said that it has no knowledge of questionable payments being made by foreign governments to Saudi Government officials. The documents on file at the SEC suggest the contrary.

BP omitted naming Saudi Arabia in documents it filed with the SEC on June 3 regarding foreign commission payments. However, a close reading of this document in conjunction with another SEC document filed in the United States Federal Court, which refers to a subsidiary of BP,

## American envoy to UN accuses President Amin of genocide

From Fred Emery Washington, June 5

Mr Andrew Young, the black American representative at the United Nations, states that he wished President Amin were dead and accuses the Ugandan leader of genocide. But Mr Young says a race war in South Africa will produce a conflict in the United States, stirring with whites attacking blacks in northern cities.

Mr Young, a Congressional list minister, continues his outspoken way in a fascinating and very long interview to be published in the July issue of *Playboy* published next week. Coming from one of the most influential members of President Carter's Cabinet, this interview is crucial reading for any understanding of American foreign policy.

Mr Young makes no bones about appearing in such a forum, asserting that *Playboy* "probably reaches more young opinion makers of this nation" than any other magazine.

Much of the interview explores his view that racism is the dominant world issue.

He counts among the racists, partly unconsciously, Mr Nixon and Mr Ford, the former presidents, and Dr Kissinger, the Secretary of State. Moreover, he says, "The Russians in Africa are all racists, and that's why they won't have any influence."

Mr Young says he feels a great deal of sympathy for

whites on South Africa. He believes it is still possible for them to work out, providing it is done without bloodshed, an arrangement where blacks control politics and whites the economy.

On President Amin he is adamant and more outspoken than any previous member of this Administration. In spite of his own religious faith "I don't want Hitler to be saved, and I don't want Idi Amin to be saved."

He accuses President Amin of having a policy of murdering specific groups of people. "The genocide, equivalent to Hitler's pogrom of the Jews," he adds, "I want him to disappear from the face of the earth."

Of race war in southern Africa, he says: "If you have 200,000 whites slaughtered in Rhodesia, South Africa will go in there. Then you'll have American volunteers running over there and getting involved." Whites in America might panic and "you get the American Nazi Party predicting the same thing will happen here as is happening in Africa. It would start with whites attacking blacks."

All of this is brought out under questioning. It is less a prediction than a nightmare, and an explanation why the United States must now be involved in averting the worst. Clearly he believes President Carter will intervene.

## Mr Ecevit ahead in early results

From Robert Fisk Ankara, June 5

First results in the Turkish general elections tonight showed Mr Bülent Ecevit's Republican People's Party winning 41 per cent of the vote, more than the ruling Justice Party of Mr Demirel but not high enough to form a majority government.

Officials at the RPP's headquarters pointed out that few of 4,000 ballot boxes opened came from Istanbul or Ankara where Mr Ecevit is expected to make large gains over the Justice Party.

Of the first 600,000 votes counted, 39 per cent went to the Justice Party and 7 per cent went to the pro-Islamic National Salvation Party and the right-wing National Movement Party.

The very first results, based only on a few constituency districts in small towns and villages, showed Mr Ecevit's party winning at least 50 per cent of the vote. In Trabzon in north eastern Turkey, the party won 54 per cent of the votes in three electoral districts.

In some country areas, there were signs that the National Movement Party of Mr Alpallan Turkes might have increased its vote as well. In one district of Elazig the NMP gained 30 per cent of the vote, Turkish newspapers and photographers turned out to watch the party leaders vote and to catch any last expressions of hope or depression.

Their efforts went unrewarded when Mr Bülent Ecevit, the leader of the Republican People's Party cast his vote. He made no comment but Mr Alpallan Turkes, the president of the extreme National Movement Party, was more forthcoming when he turned up at the same polling station in the Ankara suburb of Oran. "Let us," he said, "begin everything we do with the name of God."

Outside the cities, however, there were those whose faith in God was superseded by a reliance on more physical methods of persuasion. In the southern town of Adana, eight voters turned up at one polling station carrying a total of 11 pistols. All of them were arrested. In Söke, a voter who was being beaten up by two men turned on his attackers, produced a gun and shot one of them dead.

In Samsun, Turkey, too, there were signs of violence although of a slightly more rural nature. In the town of Mardin someone discovered two sticks of dynamite in the office of a local deputy while not far from Van two rival families on their way to vote began fighting each other with rocks and sticks. Fifteen people were injured in the battle, according to the authorities.

In Ankara, scores of policemen patrolled the polling stations to prevent violence. In the suburb of Güvenevler, for example, squads of armed police walked constantly around the corridors of the primary school which was being used as a polling station.

The electoral officers were equally ruthless. When the voting officer at Güvenevler found that the number of votes cast at his station outnumbered by one the number of voters who had signed in at the station, he rectified the situation in front of a small crowd by the simple expedient of producing one voting paper from the box and setting fire to it with a cigarette lighter.

When voting closed at five o'clock, he allowed the public to watch the initial count. Of the first 26 voting papers examined, 19 went to the Republican People's Party, one to Mr Demirel's Justice Party, five to the National Movement Party of Mr Turkes and one to the small Turkish Unity Party.

## Colombo leader complains to Moscow

From Our Correspondent Colombo, June 5

Mr J. R. Jayawardene, leader of the Opposition and president of the United National Party (UNP), has decided to write to Mr Brezhnev and other Soviet leaders to protest against alleged interference by the Soviet Embassy here in Sri Lanka's internal affairs.

The *Journal*, published by the UNP, has published details of alleged connections between an embassy official and leading journalists here.

Mrs Bandaranaike, the Prime Minister, yesterday began the election campaign of her Freedom Party with a warning to public officials and police that when her party was returned to power, it would deal with those who had been "fence sitting".

**Nimeiri visit to China**

Khartoum, June 5.—President Nimeiri of Sudan, who expelled all Soviet military advisers three weeks ago, left here today for a 10-day visit to China.

## Prisoners of conscience

By David Watts

Paraguay: Doroteo Grandel

Paraguayan authorities have denied all knowledge of the arrest and detention of Señor Doroteo Grandel, a peasant farmer. Yet there are witnesses to his arrest by the 2 Infantry Detachment, and his subsequent detention in Caguazua military detachment.

A writ of habeas corpus was issued on Señor Grandel's behalf six days after his detention in May last year, and the American Supreme Court asked the Paraguayan government to produce the whereabouts of the arrested farmer for information about his case. In answer to his inquiry, General Orellano Carpinelli Yegros, the commander of the 2 Infantry Division, said that Señor Grandel's case was "unknown".

Señor Grandel's arrest is linked with a military operation by the division in the Ybá district, which includes his village of Tobati. During the attack, Señor Grandel and about 30 other peasants and their families were mistreated and their homes burnt. The attack was allegedly connected with the sale of land in the area.

According to reports, the company organising the sale had undertaken to ensure that the land was free of occupants when transferred to the purchasers.

Publication of a report of the incident in the newspaper *El Radical*, substantiated with documents, photographs and the testimony of 200 witnesses, brought a libel action against the newspaper from General Carpinelli Yegros. The newspaper's director was arrested.

The judge handing the case ordered an inspection of the area where the attack was said to have taken place, but this brought the conclusion that "no farms or peasants' homes had been burnt down".

In the hearing of the libel action, Señor Grandel travelled to the capital to offer himself as a witness to the events in his village. Ten days before his arrest and disappearance, he presented a signed legal statement to the authorities.

Radical and continuous efforts to obtain information about his arrest and "disappearance", the authorities have refused to acknowledge it. However, a former prisoner says that last December he was held with Señor Grandel in the military barracks at Villarica. Sentence cut: Mr Andreas Dedotis, a Greek Jehovah's Witness sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment for his refusal to do military service, was featured in this column on January 24, has had his sentence reduced to 20 months on appeal.

## Freed aircraft spotters flying home today

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The Britons, who were arrested here in March on suspicion of espionage, are Kieron Pileman, aged 20, Roy Sturges, 28, Christopher Knott, 22, Christopher Taylor, 21, and Timothy Blyth-Spearman, 22, all from London.

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## King Hassan's supporters win Moroccan election

Rabat, June 5.—Candidates supporting King Hassan won a seat. Three other parties, the traditionalist Popular Movement, the conservative Constitutional Movement, and the nationalist Action Party, all backers of the monarchy, won 29, two and two seats respectively.

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## ARTS

## Victorian celebrations dazzlingly recalled

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Landseer: Queen Victoria and John Brown

full-length of Queen Victoria  
with the Prince of Wales (1846)  
is one of the artist's master-  
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Sir Joseph Edgar Boehm's  
Jubilee bust of the Queen is so  
placed in the Reynolds Room  
as to be seen in profile against  
the Grant, while above Wilson's  
chessmen place in the Council  
Room a large canvas by Lauris  
Tuxen depicts The Royal  
Family at the time of the  
Jubilee, containing 55 portraits  
of the Queen, her children,  
grandchildren, their wives and  
husbands at Windsor on June  
22, 1887. The most important

"see-piece" in the exhibition is  
William Powell Frith's *The  
Marriage of the Prince of  
Wales, 10 March 1863*, which is  
shown together with 62 cartes  
de visite photographs utilized  
by the artist in the perfor-  
mance of this enormous under-  
taking, for commissioning by  
Queen for £3,000, Jeremy Mass  
has written a fascinating  
account of the artist's endless  
negotiations with arrogant  
principles to obtain sittings or  
even photographs, the incred-  
ible confusion which followed  
the actual ceremony, with  
elderly clerics and jewelled  
duchesses crammed into third-  
class railway carriages and the  
eventual triumph at the Royal  
Academy (1865) in *The Prince  
of Wales's Wedding*; the story  
of a picture (Cameron &  
Teggs/Davies & Charles,  
£5.95). The Queen's wedding  
ceremony from the royal closet  
which looks down on the altar  
of St George's Chapel, garbed  
in the widow's weeds which she  
had worn since the Prince Con-  
sort's death in 1861 and which

she is wearing on horseback in  
Sir Edwin Landseer's *Queen  
Victoria at Osborne* (1866) in  
which the presence of John  
Brown did not go unremarked  
when it was exhibited at the  
Royal Academy the following  
year.

At the end of the Reynolds  
Room hangs George IV and  
Queen, flanked the window which  
gives on to the top-left area  
where the Academy's greatest  
treasure, Michelangelo's *Taddei  
Tondo* is permanently displayed,  
and the organizers have gen-  
erally integrated it into the  
exhibition by having a bust of  
Prince Albert gaze at the tondo,  
while one of Victoria has eyes  
only for him.

The final section is a group of  
pictures shown at the Royal  
Jubilee Exhibition in Manches-  
ter in 1887, which was "artfully  
limited to works" produced  
in the United Kingdom during  
the reign of Her Majesty the  
Queen", as the original pro-  
spectus puts it. In the Archi-  
tectural Room at Burlington  
House almost every aspect of  
the period is represented:  
Alma-Tadema's *The Picture  
Gallery*, Edwin Long's *The  
Babylonian Marriage Market*  
and Charles William Mitchell's  
*Hyppia* demonstrate the con-  
tinuing popularity of ancient  
history, while William Shake-  
speare Burton's *The Wounded  
Cavalier*, William Dyce's  
*Titan's First Essay in Colour*  
and George Dunlop Leslie's  
*Perseus* evoke more recent  
historical periods and William  
Holman Hunt's *London Bridge  
at Midnight: Rejoicings in  
Honour of the Marriage of the  
Prince and Princess of Wales*,  
10 March 1863 and Sir Hubert  
von Herkomer's *Hard Times*  
evoke contrasting aspects of the  
contemporary scene.

From this Friday Amignon's  
celebrated *Portrait of HM  
Queen Elizabeth II* from the  
Fishmongers' Hall will be  
added to the exhibition: it will  
be interesting to compare him  
with Winterhalter.

Jeffery Daniels

## MONDAY BOOKS

## The best there is

The Penguin  
Dictionary of  
Decorative Arts  
By John Fleming and  
Hugh Honour

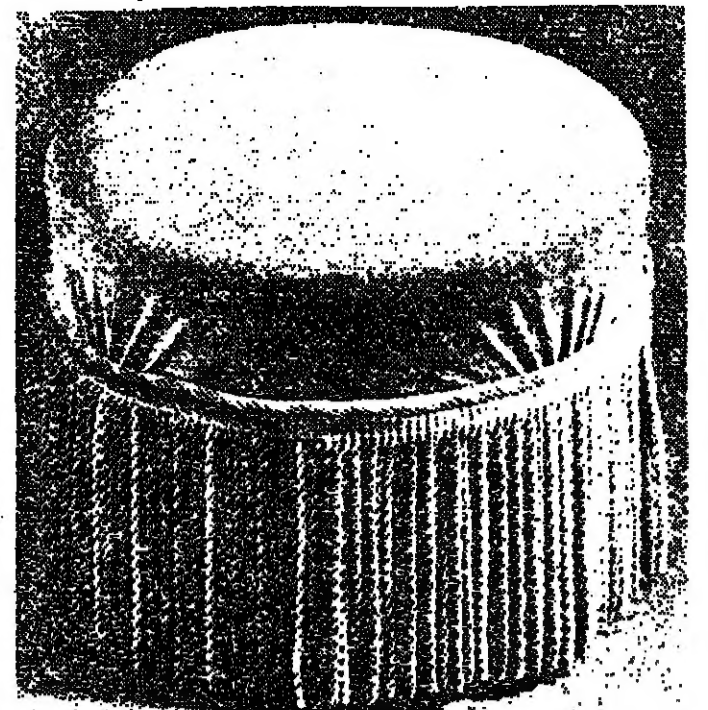
(Allen Lane, £9.50)

Tamburlaine-like, John Flem-  
ing and Hugh Honour have  
harnessed emperors to draw  
their shelter into our view.  
("Hampered ladies of Asia",  
are well covered in the book  
as "a mineralogically imprecise  
term for various kinds of  
hard stone, notably nephrite  
... and jadeite ...") On the  
back jacket, Lord Clark  
describes the book as "a fabu-  
lous piece of work" and Sir  
John Pope-Hennessy calls it "a  
truly invaluable book". Inter-  
tid or upstart the reviewer who  
attacked a book armoured with  
such advance reviews.

Fleming and Honour are an  
institution in the art world.  
Few other art historians have  
been the subject of a laudatory  
editorial in the *Burlington  
Magazine*. They have been pro-  
lific and entertaining: two  
qualities which should have  
been enough to destroy their  
reputation as art historians.  
They wrote many entries for  
the *Compendium of the History  
of Art*, Fleming has  
written on Robert Adam and  
his circle, and on Scottish  
houses. Honour has written a  
guide-book to Venice, and  
books on cabinet makers,  
goldsmiths, Chinoiserie and  
neo-classicism, and is preparing  
an eagerly awaited work on  
Canova. He has lectured in  
Washington Cathedral (his  
Doge's face stared out from  
among the ads for dirty movies  
in a Washington Post adver-  
tisement of the talk) and in the  
early 1960s he wrote a sparky  
gossip column in *Apollo* under  
the pseudonym Romulus, on  
one occasion contributing a  
barbed "profile" of Sir John  
Pope-Hennessy.

Yet their reputation in the  
art world could hardly be  
higher. It is comparable with  
that of Liddell and Scott in  
the classical learning of a cen-  
tury before; or perhaps an  
aster, if too majestic compar-  
ison would be with Dr. John-  
son who also, through a meti-  
culous dictionary-maker, pre-  
served humour and humanity  
and never sank into the pedan-  
tic or sequestrated. As Lord  
Clark writes, the earliest of  
this dictionary was written  
concisely and intelligently that  
they can be read for pleasure  
for their own sakes. "I don't  
actually think the book will be  
serialized on 'A Book at Bed-  
time', but certainly the text  
even somewhat fancifully  
traced the style back to Wil-  
liam Blake."

I could spot no grievous  
omissions in the book, though  
some of the more talented  
china decorators have not been  
given an entry of their own,  
for example Fiddie Durrivier on  
whom the late Major W. H.  
Tapp wrote some rather sus-  
pect articles which Fleming  
and Honour could have filleted  
for the facts; though James  
Giles, on whom Robert Char-



The genteel but useful Pouffe

"buried in the same tomb with  
a third friend from their stu-  
dent days in Rome, all three  
claiming to have remained true  
to their youthful vows of amity  
and calchacy." In the main  
the style, human figures  
were "attenuated to an almost  
preposterous elegance, usually  
nude (the females with com-  
plexed attitudes to emphasize the  
nakedness of their bodies) and  
shown in twisted postures sug-  
gestive of sexual ecstasy."

The authors do not always  
avoid the time-honoured  
cliches of dictionary makers:  
A "proliferated as never  
before or since"; B "reached a  
new height"; C "played a pro-  
minent part"; D "found its  
most notable expression in"; E  
"gave rise to a fashion"  
("All these occur in the section  
on Mannerism alone.") There  
are also a few incautiously  
dogmatic, or too abrupt, state-  
ments of fact; to say that  
Mackmurdo's title-page for  
Wren's City Churches (1883) is  
"the earliest example of Art  
Nouveau design" is roughly  
just, and perhaps justly rough,  
considering their limitations of  
space; but the statement  
ignores previous books on Art  
Nouveau that trace the origins  
of the style back to English  
silverwork of the 1830s-50s  
which were based on the same  
sinuous naturalistic forms as  
Art Nouveau and perhaps on  
the same wish to break away  
from a sterile historicism in  
ornament. (Other writers have  
even somewhat fancifully  
traced the style back to Wil-  
liam Blake.)

I could spot no grievous  
omissions in the book, though  
some of the more talented  
china decorators have not been  
given an entry of their own,  
for example Fiddie Durrivier on  
whom the late Major W. H.  
Tapp wrote some rather sus-  
pect articles which Fleming  
and Honour could have filleted  
for the facts; though James  
Giles, on whom Robert Char-

leston has done exemplary  
research, is given a place, and  
Geoffrey O'Neale also gets in,  
Major Tapp's articles on him  
being significantly not invoked.  
More serious omissions are the  
potter Clarice Cliff and Wedg-  
wood "Fairland Lustre" on  
both of which there are good  
new books—perhaps too new  
to cause a rise in the Fleming/  
Honour net?

There is one funny mistake:  
a silver, lacquer and eggshell  
cigarette case is ascribed in a  
caption to Raymond  
Templer. A Templer was of  
course Leslie Charteris's  
"Saint"; the jeweller was  
Templer. Now we know why  
the Saint looked so pleased  
with himself as he huddled his  
lagonda down the driver's head  
just finished sticking eggshell  
on the week's consignment of  
cigarette cases and powder  
compacts, work that tensed  
every nerve in that lithe, devil-  
may-care body. Others of the  
jokes in the book are deli-  
cious, but Fleming and  
Honour would have thought  
of illustrating "Pouffe"  
("late 19c English term for a  
large free-standing stuffed  
cushion used as a seat") with  
a photograph of that genteel but  
useful household chattel?

But this is not a book to  
joke about. The encomiums on  
the jacker are not exaggerated.  
It is quite simply the best dic-  
tionary of the decorative arts  
that has ever been written:  
only time, and the need to in-  
clude artefacts of the future,  
will make a new one necessary.  
It is even better than the  
Oxford Dictionary of the De-  
corative Arts which was  
recently published; and if that  
smacks of filial impiety, as one  
of the contributors to this  
volume was my mother, I can  
only say that I love her, and  
love thee, dear, so much, loved  
I not Honour more?

Bevis Hillier

## John Tavener on his opera drawn from Dostoevsky

articularly concerned  
w one communicative  
about how exotic  
"must be" has  
John Tavener's new  
opera, *A Gentle Spirit*,  
its premiere at the  
of the Bath Festival, is  
the failure to com-  
about the breakdown  
munication in the mar-  
a casted Russian.  
An unlikely subject,  
he thinks, for a good  
those already richly  
captive output, has  
be multi-dimensional,  
gued and surgically  
et to express sur-  
ject is to overlook the  
t *A Gentle Spirit* is  
a short story by  
y, that more sub-  
bers.

after the completion  
*Thérèse*, Tavener's  
tic study of the life  
Lisieux, which the  
era House will be stag-  
May, that Tavener's  
Gerard McKerrras  
d he read the  
ky. "It's the story of  
St Petersburg girl who  
herself out of a window  
disastrous marriage to  
ny officer to whom she  
to pawn an ikon. In  
ys pawning an ikon in  
as rather like trying to  
a Sacrament," Tavener  
story, but there were  
es. "We wanted to

retain the obsessive mood of the  
story, the single vision—  
Dostoevsky has the man pacing  
up and down remembering the  
past whilst his wife lies dead on  
a card-table nearby—but we  
wanted to avoid monodrama."  
Their solution was to retain  
Dostoevsky's opening,  
the silence, the pacing and the de-  
spairing cry "Is there anyone  
alive in the world?" and then  
to move into flashback: the  
memories burgeoning into five  
dramatic sequences, punctuated  
by the dream ritual of the  
suicide to which the soldier's  
mind persistently returns.

Flooding moments of stasis  
where dreams and reality cross,  
ritual gestures, and above all  
the idea of dying and dying  
to oneself, all this is pure  
Dostoevsky. Even his love of  
polyglot tongues ("the actual  
sound of the syllables in a  
foreign tongue fascinates me")  
finds its way into *A Gentle  
Spirit*; though the opera will  
be sung in English, the girl at  
one point sings a haunting Rus-  
sian Orthodox prayer, and the  
differences? "I think the piece  
is darker-textured than any-  
thing I've written before,  
though I've also aimed at a  
certain knife-edge quality."  
Guns and icons make a fairly  
explosive mix, so the audience  
ought to be on the edge of  
their seats most of the time."

Working on *Thérèse* ("a  
saint who has always fascinat-

me, in fact I think I was writ-  
ing *Thérèse* subconsciously  
whilst I was working on *Ulti-  
mo Ritus*") Tavener came to  
doubt what had been for him  
at one time a very close feel-  
ing for the Catholic Church.  
"I felt they had been senseless  
rituals, just as a French  
film of the Dostoevsky senti-  
mentalized *A Gentle Spirit*. The  
idea that the girl commits  
suicide to make her husband  
a better man seems to me  
very pre-diegetic and a  
good deal removed from Dos-  
toevsky's real feelings." Per-  
haps it is for this reason that  
Tavener has been increasingly  
drawn to Russian and Greek  
Orthodox ritual. "I use  
Orthodox ritual rather than  
as Greek ritual in his  
plays; but the Orthodox seems  
to me so much purer and more  
direct. After all, there is a  
clearer historical line, no Re-  
formation, and liturgically  
more emphasis on the Gospel,  
less on the Sacrament itself."

Given this preoccupation with  
ritual, even in outwardly  
naturalistic situations, what  
degree of control does Tavener  
like his producer to exert over  
movement? "Neither opera is  
in any sense a ballet; on the  
other hand, in *Thérèse* every  
move and every gesture will be  
plotted in advance. And in  
*A Gentle Spirit* there is quite a  
lot of strictly controlled move-  
ment: the husband's pistol-

practice, for instance, which he  
does to bolster up his ego, is  
played ritually, almost over-  
orchestrated."

Finding a librettist and pro-  
ducers has been something of a  
problem for Tavener. "For both  
opera I needed a dramatist  
rather than a poet. Too many  
contemporary operas seem to  
me to fail at the purely drama-  
tic level, or else—and this is  
something I very much wish to  
avoid—they're much too didac-  
tic and verbose. I found it  
rather hard to take all that  
Marxist preaching in Henze's  
latest piece. I was lucky to find  
Gerard McKerrras. He's studied  
classical drama for many years  
now, and he also happens to be  
Orthodox, which helps."

In practice, Tavener's own  
libretto and McKerrras's libretto  
deal about his dramatic ideals.  
Interesting in spite of some  
affinities of subject matter,  
Tavener is not drawn to Mahler  
quite in the way that Berio is.  
If anything, Tavener warms  
more to Mahler's anti-type,  
Bruckner, whose powerfully  
original use of space and time  
in his symphonies (in the  
adagio of the Ninth especially)  
clearly appeals to Tavener as  
powerfully as Boris Godunov's.  
These are challenging pre-  
cedents, but somehow the Brit-  
ten once averted, and as the  
proven success of *The Whale*,  
*The Celtic Requiem* and *Ultimo  
Ritus* has tended to confirm,

Tavener's is a potent, colourful  
talent. *Thérèse* will be difficult,  
even by Tavener's own admis-  
sion—"According to André  
Previn, who's seen the score, the  
soprano role is more taxing than  
anything in the repertoire."—  
and it is perhaps fortunate that  
we can break ourselves gently  
into Tavener's new period with  
the Dostoevsky one-act  
(which, incidentally, comes to  
London later this week before  
travelling to Manchester and  
Cheltenham). For an opera  
which dramatizes the life of an  
atheist-turned-saint with a mix-  
ture of ferocious realism  
and surrealistic suggestiveness  
(landscapes in the style of  
Bosch are promised, the Somme,  
Auschwitz and an ultimate apoc-  
alypse), which has on either  
side of *Thérèse* a skeletal  
Christ and the brilliant, worldly,  
iconoclastic Rimbaud; which  
begins in conducted silence and  
ends with a 30-minute  
Liberated on the single word  
"love", is obviously no small  
undertaking.

Perhaps both operas mark,  
in Rimbaud-like phrase, the period  
of Tavener's own Season in  
Hell, though I suspect that they  
could, equally, be benedictory—  
bringing us, like the best Eliot,  
to that point of crisis from which  
a reconstruction of faith is once  
again richly possible.

Richard Osborne

## Festival opens with a heartening concert

x Singers  
Abbey

m Mann  
a doubly *ex tite* at the  
1. for the city jubilee  
the twenty-eighth Inter-  
Festival of Music,  
egan on Friday and will  
until June 12. Bee-  
music, in this anniver-  
year, is strongly  
ried. There is a quantity  
music, plenty from the  
century also, special  
n being paid to John  
Running like a thread  
the programmes is the  
s J. S. Bach, to which  
only concert in Bath  
was devoted.

rd Hickox had brought  
ers and Orchestra who  
s name, together with

four young vocal soloists, to per-  
form the glorious D major  
*Magnificat*, preceded by three  
other sacred vocal works. These  
are sung in English, the girl at  
one point sings a haunting Rus-  
sian Orthodox prayer, and the  
differences? "I think the piece  
is darker-textured than any-  
thing I've written before,  
though I've also aimed at a  
certain knife-edge quality."  
Guns and icons make a fairly  
explosive mix, so the audience  
ought to be on the edge of  
their seats most of the time."

Working on *Thérèse* ("a  
saint who has always fascinat-

self, as conductor, could be  
seen and heard setting steady  
tempo, bolstering firm rhythm  
and tonal phrasing, most pur-  
posely. It was said, neverthe-  
less, to find harmonic move-  
ment congealing and vocal line  
blurring in the G major short  
Mass.

When the solo cantata  
*Jauchet Gott* began, Jennifer  
Smith's ringing soprano and  
Crispian Steele-Perkins's proud  
trumpet obligato appeared to  
have beaten the hazards; but  
in the aria *Hörscher, mache  
deine Güte* she and the orches-  
tral bass were left without a  
perceptible organ accompani-  
ment to connect their move-  
ment, since the harmony did  
not penetrate the nave where  
the audience sat. For general-  
ist listening it was surely a  
heartening concert.

BBC SO/Mackerras  
Albert Hall

Paul Griffiths  
A programme of French fa-  
vourites on a warm June eve-  
ning ought to have been a recipe  
for pleasure, but somehow the  
magic failed to happen on  
Friday. In large part, I suspect,  
the fault lay with the audience,  
or rather with the non-audience,  
for it must have dispirited  
Charles Mackerras and the BBC  
Symphony Orchestra to see  
such a preponderance of empty  
seats.

Under different circumstances  
Bizet's *Symphony in C* might  
have set everyone in the right  
mood, but this time it produced  
a feeling of gaiety observed at  
a distance, and there can be few

things more depressing than  
that.  
Jean-Rodolphe Kars then  
came on to the platform for the  
first of two piano concertos,  
Ravel's in G, and the orchestra  
began fitfully to come to life.  
Rorns and trombone brought  
their moments of lift, and there  
was a nice cor anglais solo in  
the slow movement, though the  
string tone remained an embar-  
rassment.

At the centre of all this was  
Mr Kars, apparently rather  
detached from what was going  
on around him, and probably  
wisely so. He played as if he  
had no doubts about accepting  
Ravel's romantic gestures at  
face value, yet within those  
broad sweeps there was close  
attention to rhythmic detail.  
The result was a performance  
of unusual coherence, as well  
as splendid sound.

The Elizabethans  
Purcell Room

Thomas Walker  
Elaborate, high-coloured cos-  
tuming with fancy ear-rings for  
drawing-room soft light, all  
pressed into the service of songs  
by John Dowland, Shakespeare's  
poetry, with such a combina-  
tion, how could The Eliza-  
bethans' octet of singer, players  
and declaimers fail to convey  
the gracious spirit of an earlier  
age, and add their tribute to the  
jubilee?

Yet when the troupe marched  
on to the stage of the Purcell  
Room on Saturday night,  
heralded by the nervously  
infringe attention-gathering  
gestures of one of their number,  
I felt a twinge of doubt.  
Perhaps it is unfair to judge

the law? Both, perhaps? "I can  
take my QC to the grave. I'm  
the best playwright that ever  
defended a murderer in the  
Central Criminal Court. If you  
tell that to a murderer they  
don't look very encouraged."

It is well known that he gets  
up tremendously early in the  
morning and writes. "But my  
energy is rapidly seeping away.  
That is, my energy to go down  
to the Old Bailey is seeping  
away." He finds the backlash  
to the liberal 1960s depressing:  
"I think it is a very illiberal  
climate at the moment." That  
being so, he is now involved  
in the case being brought  
against Guy Burgess for blas-  
phemy. "Terribly involved,"  
he says, with gloom. Lawyers  
are all mad about the case.  
"There hasn't been a blas-  
phemy case for years and years  
and years and they think it's  
a great ARK. There's a  
slightly religious play coming  
out at the same time—I have  
turned the 'Hell' section of  
the play that was on at Green-  
wich into a longer play by  
itself, to be called *The Bells  
of Hell*. It's going to be rather  
a religious time for me." As an  
atheist, he is very fond of talk-  
ing about religion. "And to be  
an atheist, you have to go  
through deep religious experi-  
ence."

The Shakespeare plays with  
the book took him a year to  
do, and will appear in the  
autumn, with Tim Curry as  
Shakespeare. Was not that a  
tremendous amount of work?  
"It's not a awful lot of  
words—a play has only 20,000  
words, and a television play  
has less than that. I'm terribly  
behind in my writing. I am

writing another six Rumpole  
plays for television—I've  
written about him before, and  
they are done what I want  
them in September with Leo  
McKern, presumably for next  
year. My producer has been  
staring in the Old Bailey look-  
ing a little edgey."

He has, of course, been writ-  
ing television plays for the last  
20 years or so. "Then plays  
were live—you had to write  
scenes so that people could go  
and change their clothes and  
come back. It's much easier  
now. In the Shakespeare plays,  
there was a bad scene, far  
less on I'd write it again and  
they would do it again—that's  
real luxury."

"My life is very pleasant at  
the moment—though I'm  
always in hysterics because I  
haven't done what I should  
have done." With writers com-  
plaining bitterly about their  
finances at the moment, how  
does he rate writing as a  
career? "I usually get com-  
missioned—and if you have a  
play on and it is running,  
television play is very well paid. It  
isn't really worth doing the  
Bar—I'm not allowed to make  
more than so much money;  
anyway, I do it. I think, out of  
a sense of basic insecurity—so  
that I won't be left alone with  
a dreadful bit of blank paper,  
I find something easier to do."  
His novel has been sold here  
and in America, which always  
helps, but the best paying  
thing for a writer, he says, "is  
a film script that never gets  
made. But I have given them  
up. They are extremely well  
paid because they have to have  
a script in order to find out  
they can't make the film. This  
is very important, but it's  
miserable work."

And after Rumpole? "Ras-  
pudin the Mad Monk for Lew  
Grade—six plays about Raspu-  
tin. For the first time in my  
life I have got it all worked  
out for a year. I'm doing  
another Feydeau play for the  
National, *Mademoiselle de chez  
Maxim*—The Maxim's and Michel  
White is going to do another play I am  
translating that's on in Paris at  
the moment, *Cage aux folles*—  
a very funny play by Jean  
Poiret, set in a transvestite  
bar."

All this and Mrs White-  
house has set it up to be  
quite like that before," he  
says, with a certain amount of  
measured glee. Divorce and  
crime are on the increase. A  
very good hedge against infla-  
tion," says the QC.

"I could shut myself up in a  
little room and write, and  
never see people in crisis.  
There is nothing like going to  
the cells in the Old Bailey.  
Everybody is in crisis, there,  
and it is very, very painful."

Philippa Toomey



# What freedom means to 'refuseniks' who finally get their exit permits

For 50 years, a silver samovar stood in a place of honour in the living room of an apartment in Leningrad, Prospekt, Lenin. For almost as long before that it was in another house in another part of the city, but always it was with the Raenis family. Now, after all this time, it has moved again, still in Leningrad, but to another family.

Zena Raenis, a 74-year-old retired schoolteacher, had been given the choice of keeping the samovar, her parents' most treasured wedding present, or putting it with it and emigrating to Israel. There was really no contest. The precious heirloom was given away and Zena, with her son, daughter-in-law and two grandchildren, packed her bags and left the country of her birth.

Like everyone else leaving Russia, the Raenises had to abandon everything they owned that was more than 25 years old. At that age, possessions become antiques. While the samovar was given away, a rather decrepit piano had to be sold to pay for a new one that they were able to send off to Israel.

I was with the family the day it was delivered to the small three-bedroom apartment they now occupy in a resettlement centre outside Jerusalem. The gold Russian lettering above the keyboard gleamed like the brightly polished woodwork, but nothing to the way the focus of the family shone as the piano was hoisted up the stairs by an Argentinian, four Americans, two other Russians and a Romanian—other new arrivals.

"The piano is not nearly as good as the old one," Luba Raenis said, the elder of the two granddaughters who arrived in the country on her

sixteenth birthday. "One of the keys keeps sticking." But to look at the way her fingers danced along those keys, it was obviously a moment of great excitement.

More exciting certainly than the last time I had seen her playing. That was a year ago in the Leningrad flat when her father Leonid, then a 42-year-old metallurgical engineer, had just been told yet again that his application for an exit visa had been rejected.

Leonid Raenis, declared the OVR—the Russian department responsible for granting the permits—had had access to secret information and therefore could not be spared. He was, however, dispensable at his factory. The moment his visa application went in, he was dismissed. Weeks later, he found a job as a lift attendant—only to be told "not to go" as it might be better if he worked elsewhere. He never did.

For the next two and a half years he was unemployed and the family existed on his mother's pension and on the meagre wages of his wife who worked in an office. To keep going, they sold the women's fur coats and every stick of furniture they could spare.

For these two and a half years, their home became a centre for meetings of "refuseniks", people like themselves who had had their applications for exit visas turned down.

Last year, they told me why they wanted to go: so that they could learn something about their past, educate their children in the Hebrew language and start a new life.

It is true that we are dissatisfied with the Soviet Union. We want more than we get here," said Leonid.

I had gone with Luba to an

evening organized by a "cultural group", the nearest thing to a Jewish youth club in Russia where youngsters drink tea and sing Hebrew songs. It has now been closed, but I met Vladimir Sverdlin and Ilya Shostakovsky, there who seemed to be close friends and who worked at organizing the "refuseniks" into some sort of cohesive body.

Both are still in Russia. Sverdlin was held in jail for suspected arms hoarding (some bullets dating from the days when he belonged to the Young Communist League and has recently got off with a suspended year's sentence. Shostakovsky has been in hospital, treated for the effects of a bust up with another refusenik.

"The Russians have tried very hard to divide the refuseniks," says Zena Raenis today. "And perhaps in this case they succeeded." What is certain is that the frustrations of those who have been told they cannot leave the Soviet Union are acute and they come to a head with arguments between people forced together in unhappy circumstances.

Sverdlin had been told he could not leave because his brother was an architect who had had access to secrets. Shostakovsky was banned because he had recently had a scientific education at a Leningrad institute—despite the fact that his parents had emigrated to Israel. His telephone was cut off, but he kept paying his bill because that way, he figured, it would one day be reconnected. And it was.

It was a telephone call to the Raenises family that told them they could all go to Israel after all. No waiting letters. Just a telephone call from the OVR. "You have 20 days in which to complete the

necessary documents", the official told them politely. Twenty days, too, in which to sell the piano, buy a new one, pack what they could and give away the samovar. And 20 days in which to say goodbye to other members of their family and their friends.

"We danced, we sang, we did a lot of foolish things," says Zena Raenis now remembering that day last September. "They didn't tell us why we could go, just that we could."

One of the reasons, she suspects, is that their names had been published in the West, frequently a good enough justification for the Russians to want potential troublemakers off their hands.

Certainly Zena doesn't seem a threat to anyone's regime. A plumpish, steel-grey haired woman whose poetic turn of phrase makes it easy to believe she taught English all her working life. She loves reading English language books, with a decided preference for Agatha Christie and Pearl S. Buck. Living in Israel means she has an unhindered access to them now. But that isn't why being in the country is so important to her.

For the first time in my life I feel I can live the life of a Jew. But there is more. It is not only because the country is beautiful. It is beautiful. But I have the feeling that it is home. I saw many beautiful sights in the Soviet Union, the Caucasus and the Crimea, but here when I look out of my window, the feeling is totally different. Here it is mine. How beautiful, I think, My land is!

The children and her son and daughter-in-law spend every day learning Hebrew by an undiluted diet of conver-

sation at a school attached to the resettlement centre. Mrs Raenis decided not to go to one herself—"because they wanted to put me with old people and I did not want to hear about other people's aches and pains all the time".

The home to which they were taken, a lounge-dining room, kitchen, bathroom, separate toilet and three bedrooms, with rolling hills for a view, contrasts sharply with the high ceilinged damp apartment they had in Leningrad. For many Russian immigrants the idea of their very own toilet is an undreamed-of luxury.

The Raenises, like all other Russian newcomers, can stay in their flat for five months, after which they are expected to find somewhere permanent. They also receive during this time a modest "stipend" from the Israeli Government of about £7.50 a week.

Some Israelis criticize the help the Russians get. One new immigrant told me a man pushed in front of him in a bus queue and when he protested answered: "Who the hell asked you to come here in the first place?"

It is said that perhaps half the Jews leave Russia with exit permits for Israel—granted because Israel is recognized by the Soviet Government as the "homeland" for Jews. These dilute the quota of those who genuinely want to go to Israel.

But Zena Raenis feels no bitterness towards them. "How could I? What right would I have to complain? I can't judge people. There are quite different problems—those who like us want to go to live in Israel and others who just want to escape from the Soviet Union and so use Israel to do so."

As for the Israelis, those she

has met have greeted her warmly. That does not mean that they do not themselves have problems. When I met him Leonid had not yet found a job. Three years is a long time for an engineer to be part-time on his tools and instruments—and, more important, from the opportunity of using them.

He also says that he did not know enough about Israel before arriving there. "No one told us about job opportunities, about politics, about the agriculture of the country. We only knew what we read in the papers—which were always the terrible things the Russians wanted us to read. Nobody explained anything to us about the financial situation, about little things like going into a bank. I am terrified when I go into a bank now. I had never seen a cheque in my life before."

But the Raenises believe they can cope. They have not altogether lost the Russian approach to things. When Leonid told me about telephoning his friends in Leningrad he said he did so every three weeks because "the government allows us to do so". When he does make the calls they are moments of nostalgia.

"It's an emotional experience," said his mother. In a recent call they heard that their flat was now being occupied by a Russian family and their friends tell them how strange it seems to see other living where the Raenises had lived for more than half a century.

"I get a bit nostalgic when I hear that," said Mrs Raenis. "But not for long. That flat was never home. This is."

Even without a silver samovar.

Michael Freedland

Raymond Fletcher

## A package tour to modern Marxism

A package tour to Colditz sounds just about as attractive a proposition as a long weekend in Wootton Bassett. I have always instinctively (and probably subconsciously) avoided packaged tourists when abroad, being quite unable to stand their clattering chatter about the fabulous restaurants they are in last year in Majorca and the absolutely splendid swimming pools around which they will be basking themselves next year in Tenerife.

Playing resorts as one does cards, moreover, with two weeks in Tenerife trumping three weeks on the Costa Brava has always seemed to me the most banal of human pursuits.

But the Colditz run, which offered four nights in Dresden, two in Berlin and Leipzig on the side, was, at only £2 more than I normally pay for a return flight to West Berlin a bargain for one in my present impoverished condition; and prowling around communist Germany as a tourist was, for a retired revolutionist, an opportunity to see what was in some small degree responsible for creating, as others see it.

Marxism has, of course, changed quite a lot since I took leave of it. In 1950, the last time I was in Dresden, it was possible for an incorrigible optimist to persuade himself that all post-Stalinist change would be for the better, and that Marxism would flow back into the channels its founder had cut for it.

Nothing of the kind has happened. The first issue of *Neues Deutschland*, I bought, carried a translation of an article that originally appeared in *Pravda* on May 13. It came as a shock. Two Soviet academics argued in it, as I would have expected that bourgeois democracy was a sham that concealed, particularly in West Germany, the "oppression" and "sacking of thousands" of dissidents.

What I did not expect, having neglected my knowledge of late, was the assault on the whole conception of individual personality and individual potentialities—that animated Marx as much as Lenin.

The striving for individual freedom, argued the theorists, whether in the realm of politics, art or even sex, is a weakness encouraged by the bourgeoisie to keep itself eternally on top.

The only freedom is collective, the only hope in the herd. There is no Marx's Marxism; but it is a dangerously potent doctrine to have flying, sailing and marching in battle order around a world surface, from Africa to our own country, in sliding backwards into tribalism.

But enough of this. One does not go touring into a doctrine. We were in Dresden. We were a mixed bunch, and merriment soon began to bubble in the surface. Jim had been on a similar tour the previous year, and, knowing some German, knew his way about. He was delighted, he told us, to have been shown to a seat in the Rasteller while a group of Russians behind him were left grumbling in the queue; he guffawed loudly when our guide told us that she wouldn't want to read the dreadful papers we read in the West; and, August, the Stoeny, the remarkable monarch of Saxony

who seems to have won approval, was re-christened the Great and received a cheer from Jim (and even the rest of us) every time he was mentioned (which was often: he has obviously been a symbol of Saxony since Catherine and I received discreet public warning after our arrival. She after lunch in the club, on crammed cafeteria on Dre main station and was then that it was not done. L things are simply not in Dresden, including what the grass, crossing against traffic lights even when vehicle is in sight, and r *The Times* in a public p

Dresden under what is socialism is a curious fashioned city. The work we heard on the Prager played stirring; but they played was the *F. K. Reitermarsch*, a march the Kaiser's army learnt in their imp cradles.

No crowds stand out as the "news" of this or that party meeting if they are there from *Hauptbahnhof* but Dresden endlessly to see th efficient royal emblem mulated by August the and displayed in the i Green Vault.

What I must call a con reverence for the past is all over the German Dem Republic. Wagner is det "in" and lovely po plaques commemorating are made in Meissen. I reverence, take to the D barricades in 1849, as th plots on sale at the f of Königsstein reminds us

At Königsstein, indee we pretended to be Liv lians, basking in the gh the European cup w "What about Bolton W ers?" shouts a sothe ch Germans as we descended lift. "Who let you in? responded Jim, which led over-my-head discussion o points of football lore.

"Bach is 'in', we disco his mid-point at Leipz are the German, who fought against Napoleon. Battle of the Nations, ju side the city. But the li Frederick the Great is, a moment, somewhat uole.

The talk at Sans Sou Potemkin summer palace seventeen years ago, w was last at Potsdam. Old (as Berliners still call him the friend of Voltaire an enemy of Napoleon. That got him through Marx's A levels. Now? O you, Comrade Henneke least one British tourist r the matter as important.

Edna and John, Jac' Margaret, Marlene fore local Labour Party are Ron, and the indoo irrelevant Jim do not sb concern. Why should the how could they?

Their good humour through to the German out being on a dip mission they achieved, w trying, a diplomatic succ would like to cross fr with them again—and as long as you can Colditz—sorry, I forgot.

The author is Labour M Hkston.

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## How statistics sometimes turn into figures of fun

James Thurber was justly proud of his remarkable collection of *Sleeping Squirrels*, which included such pearls as "There are no pianos in Japan" and "You never see foreigners fishing".

The world has moved on a little since Thurber's day, and the secular communications explosion has brought the chance of rich pickings for collectors of intangibles. My colleague Mr Philip Howard, for instance, owns an unvalued collection of *Fashionable Phrases* and *Delicious Jargon*.

I have recently gone in for collecting, too, specialising in the complex and highly technical field of late twentieth-century *Suspense Statistics*. These fascinating objects can be broadly classified in three groups: "Blindly Obvious", the "Great Leap Sideways", and the "We'll Prove It If It Kills You".

A splendid example of the last category was the research by a Canadian scientific team into the carcinogenic properties of saccharin. These dedicated researchers spent months pumping vast quantities of saccharin into rats who, poor beasts, finally developed cancer. Thus it was proved at least to the satisfaction of the scientists that saccharin causes cancer, and it was duly banned from use in North America—in spite of the fact that for a man to take in a comparable dose to that produced by cancer in the rats, he would have to drink 500 bottles of saccharin-sweetened fruit squash every day for a number of years.

My first and second types of *Suspense Statistics* are to be found in a report published recently by Shelter, the campaign for the homeless, under the title of *No Place to Grow Up*. If you put the 60p shelter charges for this report (which is based on a child development study by the National Children's Bureau), you would learn, among other things, that lack of basic sanitation increases the risk of ill health in children. That, I think, can fairly be classified as *Blindly Obvious*.

But the jewel of the Shelter report, as quoted in *The Times*, was the following: "The report says lack of a bath, inside lavatory and hot water retards reading ability by the average of 10 months and arithmetic ability by nine months."

There, in all its glory, is a Great Leap Sideways. It matches, in its stunning assumption, the prized Thurber *Sleeping Squirrels*. "Nobody says," his fingers if he's all right.

Mind you, must declare a personal interest in this particular *Suspense Statistic*. I grew up in somewhat primitive rural conditions, where the lavatory was three minutes' walk away from the house, and the bath of the do variety—was placed in front of the kitchen fire and filled with water boiled in kettles and kettles. I could read before I started school.

I wonder whether the earnest and no doubt well intentioned people who studied those 16,000 children asked, after prying into the privy, whether there were any books in the house? It is a well known fact, supported by statistics, that reading is very difficult when you have nothing to read.

Such splendid *Suspense Statistics* are not usually found in the specialist magazines, official reports, or scientific papers. But discovering one is a rare pleasure.

Reports of the proceedings at the British Psychological Society's conference this year produced some breathtaking examples. One of the society's august members was quoted as declaring, no doubt on the basis of research, that it is easier to attract people of the opposite sex if you are good-looking, that unattractive people are often rebuffed by prospective partners within five minutes of meeting, and—wait for it—that men are stimulated by pornographic pictures.

It seems that the Blindingly Obvious section of the market is undergoing a glut.

David Sinclair

## When Tiffany and Tamsin meet Brandy and Bluebell, horse sense is needed

As the population explosion was dying away with an ever diminishing patter of little feet, so the furious and ever greater pounding of tiny hooves on the turf and the clatter of Great Britain was swelling to its mighty crescendo. Today the pony explosion is all about us.

Every village, town, suburb and city fringe has its complement of Cooncoots, Twinkles, Snokys, Bluebells, as seen in the morning Glories and Toppers ridden by girls, mainly, with names like Tiffany, Samantha, Lara, Tamsin, Cressida, Cheryl, Jenna and Julie, for whom their particular little quadruped has become a central feature of life. It is another facet of the leisure industry, and the commercial possibilities have not been overlooked.

There is an industry based on the ponies themselves, as seen in the columns of advertisements offering, for example, "14 hands pretty bay mare, 6 years. Rare opportunity to purchase a true all-round 100 per cent pony. Regular winner jumping, gymkhana, Hunted, driven. Genuine in every way. Sound. Regrettably for sale as owner outgrown. Good home only." Then there are riding clothes shops, saddlers, forage merchants, trailer manufacturers, riding schools, pony trekking establishments, and writers of pony books.

No longer just the budgeter, the kitchen, the canny, the guinea-pig, the bantam. For the animal-minded child of 1976, nothing short of a pony will satisfy, with its multiple role of toy friend and passport to a world of games, gymnastics, events, children's hunting meets, trials, trails and rallies.

A toy that will really eat, grow, have babies, whinny when it sees you and does not need to be wound up. Messing around with ponies has endless attractions. It has some pitfalls. There are a few ponies that are vicious or plain lethal, but most have a kind of inherent charity towards children. That does not prevent them, however, from dropping a shoulder at the critical moment to dislodge the jockey now and then.

Pony mania starts early and may remain a childhood passion to the horse stage, with unlimited scope for developing horsemanship and stable management skills. Very often it is a first step in responsible decision making and initiative.

Once, when we were staying away and attending a gymkhana with friends, our 14-year-old daughter, not a great riding enthusiast, made a last minute decision to enter for the

mounted fancy dress competition. With old shirt, jeans crumpled into borrowed boots, and long hair hurriedly tied up under black velvet cap, she joined the circling Tudor ladies, cowboys, Lady Godivas and knights in armour. The judges called the children into the centre of the ring for a detailed inspection. Opposite our daughter they paused in obvious consternation. Eventually one of the judges ventured, "Were not quite sure who you represent." Came the firm reply: "Princess Anne." She did not win a prize, but she remains an unwavering royalist.

The riding body in the main has been the Pony Club, a much respected and well established organization founded in 1929. The girls outnumber the boys, by five to one.

The 330 branches of the Pony Club are mostly affiliated to the local hunts. Branches have an annual summer camp where ponies and riders undertake a solid week of instruction, with equitation games and competitive events. The Pony Club is aware that the pony needs to be protected from the owner as much as vice versa. For this reason it publishes authoritative pamphlets designed to safeguard poor Twinkle from well meaning but

harmful treatment such as being over-indulged with rich feeds which brings painful fever to the feet.

The price of a pony varies almost as much as the price of a second-hand car. Ponies come in all sizes, stages, colours and ages. It is perfectly possible to find a pony "sound in mind and limb" or perhaps not too well schooled, for about £100. But once a pony has some solid achievement behind it in the show ring, the hunting field, or in competitive events, the price can soar away to anything between £300 and £700 or more.

Of course, you can always try breeding your own pony. Our three-year-old daughter, mad keen about ponies, asked if she could be present when the local stallion visited our mare, Kittens. With much mooring and prancing, the stallion gave full rein to his libido, and in no time at all the deed was done.

The groom in charge of the stallion patted him on the neck and led him away to the horsebox. Our daughter turned to me and said: "Not much fun for Kittens, was it Dad?" It was a good question, but I thought then, as I think now, that Kittens alone knew the answer.

Michael Stourton

## This fashion for 'walkabout' is no royal progress

An occasional series on new words and new meanings.

It would be curious, as seen of time with the mood of silver jubilee to say that the Queen had gone loco and abo, and had run away from her duty to get away from it all. Yet that of course, it was we are saying every time we describe her, as we seem to be doing almost every day this summer, going *walkabout*, or less idiomatically, doing a *walkabout*.

Since the Queen's visit to Australia in 1969 *walkabout* has been widely adopted as a technical term of the royal

family business, to mean an informal stroll by a public figure to meet the people whom chance or an equerry throws in her way. Royals scroled informally long before the term was introduced.

Charles II found it so hard to say no to the petitioners who dogged and hounded his strolls in St James's Park that he culprated a very fast gait, scattering "God bless you" on either side as profusely as he scattered his petticoats and ducks. The Queen herself, when she visited the United States as Princess Elizabeth, was taken by Harry Truman

on what would today be called a *walkabout* through New York.

*Walkabout* is a term of that vivid dialect Australian aboriginal pidgin. The same pidgin gives us "highful version of Christianity".

The god-men say when die go sky  
Rider flow,  
The god-men say when die we fly  
Just like witch-hack and crew—  
Might be, might be, but I don't know.

When the Queen goes *walkabout* her object is to meet and be seen by as many people

possible. When an Australian Aborigine goes *walkabout* he goes off into the bush for a while, to get away from his regular work and the pressures of the twentieth century. *Walkabout* is usually a lonely, sometimes a dangerous activity, since it is hard to survive on one's own in the desert. Cases have been reported of whole tribes going *walkabout* to withdraw from the civilisation that has impoverished them, and find some magic-religious escape in the *Karanga* or *Kimberley*, and a lost world

where the "dreaming" has not been polluted by the white man, who does not tread softly because he treads on other men's dreams. But *walkabout* is generally done by a solitary man who wants to be on his own away from crowds. It is an engaging trick of the restless and universal ocean of the English language that the word has now been adopted to describe a ceremonial passage by a royal personage through vast, cheering, pressing crowds.

The alternative colloquial phrase, *walkaround*, has already been pre-empted as a technical term of jazz. Accord-

ing to *Funk and Wagn* means a dancing perfor-

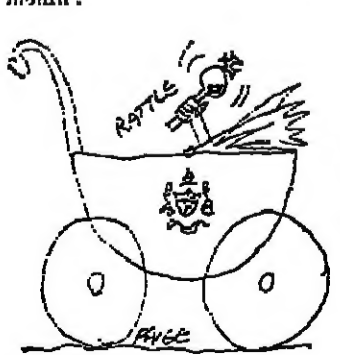
by negroes during which dance describes a large "Dixie".

1859 by Mr Dan D. Emu a *walkaround* for Bryan strels. So it is almost a propitiate a word to d the Queen meeting her as *walkabout*. The app words from medieval minology are "progres" "chevache", but it is c to imagine either of coaching on again.

Philip Hc

## LEAPMAN IN LONDON

Despite several requests, I herewith present my annual list of books for summer reading, which were somehow omitted from the comprehensive supplement we published last month:



A Book of Royal Prams, by Robert Lacey and Angela Rippon. Splendidly timed for the silver jubilee and Princess Anne's forthcoming event, this magnificent illustrated nursery-rhyme book is a must for those interested in the topic. In copious captions, Mr Lacey, by dint of numerous interviews with their nearest and dearest, takes you into the minds of the prams' occupants and tells you what they were thinking at the time,

while Miss Rippon fills in the technical details about coaching, horse-pulling, etc. Look out for the first steam pram, invented by Prince Albert for the then Prince of Wales, which was taken out of service after it ran out of control at the Great Exhibition, seriously injuring three nannies. (Mothercare, £42.)

How to Survive the Jubilee, by Sir Robert Mark and Katharine Whitehorn. Packed full of copious hints. Sir Robert warns you to keep your doors double-locked throughout against "villains", and tells you how to spot the highly-organized teams of foreign pickpockets fanning through the British Isles in the hope of easy pickings. Miss Whitehorn, in characteristic mood, gives the best way to cope is to go to the pub and let the kids get on with the party. (Metropolitan Police, £14.50.)

The Daily Mail Book of Scoops, edited by Vere Harmsworth. Includes the Red Letter of 1924, The Leyland Slush affair, the Land Deals and the identity of the new United States ambassador in London. In an introduction, invaluable advice is offered to budding investigative reporters. "Irrevocably sleazy"—James Callaghan. (Associated Newspapers, £15.)

Oops! by David English. The Editor of the *Daily Mail* tells you how to cope with embarrassing moments that happen to all of us. (Associated Newspapers, £9.50.)

Slush. An anthology of *Daily Mail* editorials. (Associated Newspapers, £1.)

Birds of America, by Sir Peter Ramsbotham. The author draws on his unrivalled experience as British Ambassador in Washington in a book which will appeal to children of all ages. (Puffin, 95p.)

Sir Peter Ramsbotham—an Appreciation, by Tom McCaffrey. In a book which shows signs of having been rushed into print, the Prime Minister's press secretary gives a glowing account of the career of one of Britain's greatest diplomats. (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, £10.50.)

Knowing Me, Knowing You, by Sir Harold Wilson. The former Prime Minister explains his thinking behind his resignation honours list. (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, £18.)

The American Economy, by Peter Jay. Britain's new ambassador in Washington gives characteristic advice to President Carter on how to run his country, bearing in mind the wage-price spiral, the money supply and those other tech-

nicalities with which a Georgian peanut farmer cannot be expected to be familiar. He offers hints on how to memorize the names of all the state capitals and, in a moving personal footnote, explains how his own money supply will be sadly depleted by his change of jobs. "Pure gold"—W. Rees-Mogg. "Simply guesswork"—J. K. Galbraith. (Hamish Hamilton, £23.)

Gardening in America, by Michael Sappleton. This noted horticultural expert reveals what he expects to find when he moves to America this year. Next summer he will write a further book on how it measured up to his expectations. Dreadful rubbish!—Roy Hay. (Jonathan Cape, £3.95.)

China, by Margaret Thatcher. The oriental scholar and Conservative Party leader explains how the world's greatest democracy offers scope for those principles of freedom and personal initiative for which her party stands. (Macmillan, £16.)

The Politics of Power, by David Steel. The boyish Liberal leader tells how he managed to make his party politically relevant while, at the same time, decimating its support among voters. Intensely good!—Michael Foot. (Guardian Publications, 60p.)

The Boys' Book of Sport, by Tony Craig and Kevin Kuper. A valuable handbook on how to maximize earnings on and off the field, with charts showing how to get the best yield in Australian dollars on each run and wicket, and how a footballer's salary should relate to his transfer fee. Second in a series. (Macmillan, £2.50.)

Remembrance, by Lord Chalfont. This reprint of the sage's thoughtful warnings in *The Times* has been produced by a new, remarkably cheap process, made possible by the fact that the text repeats itself every 20 pages. (Institute for the Study of Conflict, 40p.)

Hattersley, by James Callaghan. The Prime Minister's first attempt at a novel, a heart-rending story of a promising but slightly bumptious politician whose career was ruled when he was put in charge of keeping prices down. (Weidenfeld and Nicolson, £7.50.)

The Russians are Coming, by Lord Chalfont. This reprint of the sage's thoughtful warnings in *The Times* has been produced by a new, remarkably cheap process, made possible by the fact that the text repeats itself every 20 pages. (Institute for the Study of Conflict, 40p.)

Route 1. Veteran bus drivers remember the old days. (London Transport, £4.)

The Right Man for the Post, by Bernard Levin. An appraisal of the magnificent work done by Sir William Ryland as head of the Post Office. (Cape, £17.)

Signing On, by Edward Heath. A personal view of unemployment. (Sidgwick and Jackson, £19.)

Bedsitter Politics. A practical guide for all those left-wingers plotting to take over the Labour Party. With all the scare talk about the "bedsitter may", little thought has until now been given to the organizational difficulties of running a revolution from such cramped premises. The book has useful ideas for compact furniture—such as a bed which folds away to become a "war room" with space for maps and charts. If party funds will run to it, there are space-saving gadgets like the photocopying machine which doubles as an infra-red grill; and the book contains quick recipes for snacks for those times when the conspiracies run on into the night. (Millions, £30p.)

Football the Winning Way, by Don Revie. My Thoughts on Phase Three, by Len Murray.

Why We Love England, by Philip Agee and Mark Rosenbail.

Some





be a relief to all the  
commonwealth. Heads of

The Commonwealth is often extolled as a cross-section of every kind and condition of the human family. This is not true but it certainly now does include regimes and political situations far removed from the semi-democratic constitutionalism which at first was expected broadly to characterize the association. The Ugandan case is the extreme one, but the one which has taken place in the Seychelles yesterday is another reminder of the harsh uncertainties, the lawlessness, that underlie the solemn attempts at these conclave to produce reasoned and orderly policies to benefit this cross-section of humanity.

There is nothing the Commonwealth can do for the Ugandans. They should however make clear that Uganda is still a member. President Amin will retain the power to cause mischief abroad as well as at home. Such desperadoes are always useful tools, and it will be instructive to see what company he keeps. The Africans have a particular problem in how far they can continue to shield him from formal criticism in the United Nations and elsewhere.

ey Club is unlikely to  
missioning and inde

are indissolubly linked, to their mutual benefit. Between them, they employ about 100,000 people, three quarters of them involved in the betting side. Apart from paying over £100m in betting duty (of the £1,500m taken in bets) bookmakers and the Tote contribute in the region of £10m to the Levy board, which allocates it, mainly in prize money, for the benefit of racing.

Various proposals have been put forward to obtain the extra amount required. The Tote Board want to be given a monopoly of all off-course betting. An obvious suggestion is to make bookmakers contribute more as levy. The Chancellor, some feel, should allocate some of the substantial amounts he makes from betting to the improvement of racing, and abolish VAT on the purchase of racehorses (as most other racing countries have done). Additional sponsorship and a reduction in the number of betting options and combinations available to the punter are making the betting system cheaper to run, and leaving more punter's money to be ploughed into the sport) are other proposals. Apart from structural changes, the Economic Intelligence Unit has suggested that a great deal can be done by the more efficient use of resources within the existing framework. In the end, it may be that racing in Britain is merely passing through the same depressed phase as most other industries and activities in our current economic calamity. It is difficult to argue that it should be given as a sort of priority, out of public funds, over many other causes with more claim to urgent help.

the riddles of politics is a politician, born to acquire a knowledge of those who know him, friend or foe, cannot be other than as a caricature a few examples. Article of the sharpest minds in history, yet he was usually as a little man surrounded by a little man, like Ernie Cripps Dalton. Harold Macmillan presented as unflappable, was one of the shyest and shy of men. Alec Hume, of misplaced joke about a constipated constable, came to be mocked as an unorthodox Earl, although he was grasped of politics than his contemporaries. Gaiskell, after Aneurin bitter politics about a coal calculating machine, emerged publicly as the warmest man all his friends to be. Sevan himself, of his famous "vermin" against the Conservative Government, kind of a little, in polished alike his private charm brilliantly original and paradox of mind.

My Benn, the Secretary of Energy, who has helped the political vacuum of the world, is another example. Benn is in the round, by any standards he should be one of the most purgative in Labour politics. Benn is no, nor his rather the groups to lend his talents on occasions him as an evangelist new world, and ministerial, whom he provokes him, fear or distrust him, sitting on the Treasury Bench, a politician in his eye steadily on the dance, and says and does will serve him tomorrow, suffers, like many others, past and present, from a sincere theory of

"I recall his extraordinary single-mindedness and personal urbanity. We first became close, or less than at arm's length, during his lonely and pertinacious campaign to get rid of the Ssangnaga persons, the ones to which he had attached the elder surviving son. He enlisted me to the cause, and fell into the habit of ringing me at an unconscionably early hour. The calls were what he came to describe, as a Minister, "working breakfasts".  
 Skip a few years, and he sat up high in the Millbank Tower as the Minister of Technology, perhaps the only Cabinet minister who ever had the good sense to leave the office to become vice as his infant nursery. For Millbank Tower had been built on the site of the Ssangnaga home. In the autumn of 1969, this column had shown with dismay that some of the Prime Minister's private secretaries in the land, for all their lip service to capitalism, were going cap in hand to the Minister of Technology to ask for roles running into tens of millions. (Doris-Royce was told that the Minister would not be so missed). The column also teased Mr. Benn amiably about his working breakfasts and his spartan judgment that food and drink should be mere fuel for the human machine.  
 The following amiable letter reached me, dated 21.11.69, on the House of Commons notepaper: "I thought I ought to ask you to lunch in the morning to discuss the possibility of your going to be free for a meal. I would enjoy a further talk about the government-industry dialogue, which is now a permanent feature of life in this white-walled environment of all colours. Very little has been written about this—apart from your recent article—and there is a lot of background to fill in. If you could spare the time, I should be happy to vary my austere regime by sustaining any restaurant you may like."  
 We then began to negotiate a treaty. I replied that sandwiches at Millbank Tower would be delightful, but I liked a bottle of claret with lunch. Mr Benn set a date, and added that the bottle of claret was now confined in the minister's safe. On the day, the minister's customary secretary sent me a champagne RAF pint mug; the sandwiches were mainly fishpaste.  
 In Mr Benn, then, we are dealing with a politician who has humour, undoubted charm, and an unashamed fanaticism of application to his work and his causes. Only a fool would fail to enjoy his company, and I am sure that such politicians are as rare as the white swan. R. Butler, the late Dick Crossman before him, throws off original ideas instead of the platitudes, or reflexes by which

from a teacher can live out his time in politics and still prosper. He is always intellectually ahead of conventional wisdom, not necessarily right, yet always forcing answers to inconvenient political questions, such as renouncing hereditary peerages and titles for the constitutional innovation of an EEC referendum.

Much provoked, at the turn of 1960, Hugh Cassels once described Mr Benn as "a talented fool" and there was a little praise as well as much condemnation in the words. Mr Benn is a man who will take Mr Benn habitually goes his own way, not prudently waiting, as Mr Callaghan used to do, to catch the tide of political and party opinion, and therefore he always seems to be alone, a man who will not be affected by the multitude of Trafalgar Square—unless he were up there between the Landseers lions making one of his formidable debating or political speeches.

Sometimes, perhaps, Mr Benn ought to ask himself why, in spite of his brilliant intellect and his accumulated ministerial experience, he is as much isolated in the forum of party and national politics as Nelson himself aloft on his column.

The answer might be that he is a man with a deep sense of the people, or a popular who understands people only through the mind, not the heart.

Yet Mr Benn, there is no doubt, nurses an honourable ambition to lead the Labour Party one day, and he is not a man who will let himself have little time to lose. He expounds to his friends his impersonal theory of Labour leadership, according to which there is an alternation of dreamers (Ramsay MacDonald?), and practitioners (Attlee?). He states the objective of the next year (Wilson and Callaghan) that there may be a predictable urge to accept the leadership of a Moses who can bring the Labour Party and the people at last into the promised land. His trouble is that populist tactics through the years have so far brought him no base of votes in the Parliamentary Labour Party.

Mr Benn's C.I.F.C. Now he has taken out membership of the Tribune Group.

In the end, his choice of tactics might be described under the heading "how to lose friends but influence people" and they may undermine his careerist strategy, though he remains in more senses than one a politician to be watched. Certainly, the Labour Party is divided in campaigning against UK membership of the EEC is fully in line with the methods adopted by both Sir Harold Wilson and Mr Callaghan on their way to the top:

From Mr T. G. Hassall

From Mr T. G. Hussall

Sir, Your Archaeology Report entitled "Farnoor: Ancient Economy" (M10), describing the results of the recent excavations by the Oxfordshire Archaeological Unit highlights the modern economic new forces on this unit and similar organizations concerned with rescue archaeology throughout the country.

In Oxfordshire we had to make the decision to cut back on rescue excavations, notably of a 20-acre Bronze Age, Iron Age and Roman site, to make two archaeologists research redundant and not to replace two more. While one can quantify this loss of four staff out of 14 in terms of our unit's ability to excavate sites, one cannot quantify the loss in terms of our local and national archaeological heritage.

The problem has been caused by the effect of inflation on our grants. Like many research organizations in the country, we are largely dependent on government money, only 35 per cent of our income is not derived from the Department of the Environment. As a result the organizations the percentage is lower. However, our DOE grant has remained virtually static since 1973, when with the active encouragement and support of their department, the Oxfordshire Archaeological Unit established as a possible prototype for a national network of archaeological units, following the dramatic increase in government funds for rescue archaeology in the early 1970s.

However, no national network has emerged, our grants are made on an strictly annual basis, site by site, with virtually no provision for inflation proofing. It would appear that the government, while the major source of funding for rescue archaeology in the country does not accept any responsibility for the many agencies that carry out work on its behalf. There appears to be no realistic plan for spending the limited government funds for rescue excavation either in Oxfordshire or the country as a whole. Until rescue archaeology is put on a footing where exciting sites will continue to be destroyed with only a service being paid to their importance.

Yours sincerely,  
TOM HASSALL, Director,  
Oxfordshire Archaeological Unit,  
Fyfe Bridge Street,  
Oxford.  
May 24.

From Mr Basil G. T. Elme

From Mr Basil G. T. Elmes  
Sir, The leader "Unwise but not  
lawful" in today's *The Times*  
(June 2) was none too soon. The  
one sided attitude of our Govern-  
ment, the United States and the  
Secretary General of the United  
Nations was deplorable. I am happy  
to have served in HM Overseas  
service for many years in West  
Africa where it was fully under-  
stood by expatriate officers that  
"Africa for the Africans" would  
come in due course.

Rhodesia is a very different matter. Previous British governments have encouraged emigration of Britons and presumably expected them to settle there alongside the Africans. If we could not do this decisively over UDI surely we could now condemn guerrilla warfare against Rhodesia which has provoked retaliation by the present government of that country.

A just settlement leading to African majority rule should include all the African factions and the white minority.

Ours faithfully,

ASIL G. T. ELMES,  
Grinde Place,  
Mary Tavy,  
Avonmouth,  
Avon.

Page 2

from Dr M. Hughes

I am sure everyone in Wales will agree with Trevor Fishlock's proposition that the language issue needs "special and responsible reporting". What a pity, then, that his own reporting does not pass that test. His article of today (May 24) reports the formation of the Language Freedom Movement, "a small group which is against compulsory Welsh". He claims that it has held 90 public meetings attended by nine and sixteen people.

The Language Freedom Movement is not a mass movement but neither is it the tiny unrepresentative group Mr Fishlock implies. It is, in fact, as he admits at the overwhelming majority of people in Wales are negatively synthetic to Welsh but otherwise unathletic. All the organized groups involved in the Welsh language movement are small. The movement is not just opposed to bilingualism. It seeks a coherent policy for the language, something which does not exist at the moment, and believes that such a policy should be based on the principle of individual freedom of choice. It is concerned with all aspects of the language question, not just compulsory Welsh.

The movement has held one private meeting of delegates of groups in different parts of Wales attended by 47 people. Possibly Mr. Fishlock will be asked to represent the Aberystwyth Education campaign, which recently collected over 600 signatures from parents in favour of optional Welsh from Year 4 in the local English-medium primary school. The detailed curriculum, history and geography are compulsory subjects.

Mr. Fishlock dismisses as apocryphal the reported victimization of child whose parents were active in a campaign to prevent a bilingual school being made an all-Welsh school. The fact that the detailed information was given in the interview was cut out by the BBC in the editing process.

HUGHES,  
Language Freedom Movement,  
Cap Mawr,  
Llanynoch,  
Merystwyth,  
fed.  
24

**From Professor R. P. Dare, FEA**

Sir, One wonders a little at the somewhat vehement insistence of Lord Sherfield (letters, May 28) and Professor Gowing that it was absolutely necessary to drop two atomic bombs on Japan to force her surrender. Should one assume what one usually does assume when people protest too much?

More generally, I think, this continuing controversy and the dogmatic stance that people take on it illustrate the curious racially tinged tensions of Anglo-Japanese relations which recent trade frictions have brought to the surface but which are rarely directly talked about.

Few people in this country, for instance, are aware of what has become the typical Japanese answer to what they claim is, on the face of it, a pretty puzzling question: why should the United States go to Tokyo to make a "hard-hitting" speech about deliberate obstruction of British exports, and not go to Bonn or to Washington or to any of the other six or seven countries with which the United States might have trade balance than with Japan? True Japanese have had enough experience of Englishmen behaving towards them in what they see as a patronizing or hostile manner for the answer to seem to them obvious: because popular sentiment in England is that it is easier to make sinister overtures of the Japanese than out of the Germans or Americans.

Whether they are right or not, a strong and mutual sense of cultural alien-ness exists (of the same kind as, if of only slightly lesser magnitude than, that between Mr Bernard Levin and the Chinese). Repeated to greater or less degree in Japan's

From Mr Robert A. SeL

Sir, Dr Pappworth should have taken the trouble to inform himself about the recent ground rules concerning organ transplantation before writing his emotional letter to you, published on May 16. He has committed errors of fact to paper which should be put right.

The coroner's role is a permissive one in that he is empowered to prevent a body from being used as an organ donor, for forensic reasons. The Home Office and the DHSS have most sensibly issued guidelines concerning the coroners (not all of whom are doctors) and transplant surgery; guidance is welcome in this area where coroners and transplant surgeons need to know more about each other's responsibilities.

The DHSS circular (HSC (IS) 156 (1975)) not quoted by Dr Pappworth states: "Where there is a reasonable belief that the coroner may require an inquest or post mortem examination to be held, authority to remove parts of the body may not be given, nor may a part be removed without the coroner's consent. . . . Where a coroner has given his consent, it remains the responsibility of the person designated by the Health Authority, not the coroner, to ensure that the provisions of the (Human Tissue) Act with regard to the making of enquiries (of relatives) as specified in Section 1 of the Act are complied with."

This advice to doctors is complementary to the Home Secretary's

*From the Chairman of Cumbria  
County Council*

Sir, I write as Chairman of Cumbria County Council regarding your news story of June 2, by John Chartres, headed "Cumbrian Tories intend to run national park". There are some points which need to be put right because the inference is given that the ruling party of this county council has flung democracy aside in order to control the Lake District National Park on a purely political basis.

This is quite wrong. Although the statement by my able and industrious colleague, Martin Brannan, Chairman of the County Council's Finance and Priorities Committee (not, as you say, the Finance Committee) correctly reported, some figures need to be quoted. The Board has nine members appointed by the Secretary of State and 18 by the county council: the latter comprise 12 Conservative, one Labour and three Independent members. Of the 18, 12 only are members of the ruling Conservative group: the council, I believe, and so informed the board, is considering the nomination of a Chairman of Mr Murray

**From Dr D. B. Southern**

Sir, One does not need to look to America to find the forebears of Selig Seligson, Wilhelm Ströbel, and Gradenwald, Heldmann and other criminal lawyers, who in the defence of those accused of political terrorism have wrought such havoc on the German legal system. The corresponding German lawyer describes farcicle, page 11. In Weimar Germany there also existed extremist lawyers, who secured fame and notoriety by the way in which they defended those charged with so-called political crime.

The small group of communist lawyers achieved relatively little impact. In one famous case, the Scheckel trial of 1926, the presiding judge—Alexander Wimmer—commented on the goal to render a consciousness communist attorney from the court. Much more important was the band of National Socialist lawyers, who espoused the cause of Nazis accused in courts through-

Before it came to power in 1933, the Nazi party regarded the defence of its supporters in the courts as an integral part of its general campaign against the existing system of government. The defence of Nazi accused was organized on a national scale by the Association of National Socialist German Lawyers. Its chosen advocates were sincerely enthusiastic in their pursuit of a

From Mr Richard Gordon

*From Mr Richard Gordon*  
Sir, The penicillin story has more fascinating twists than the complete severance of Fleming's work at St Mary's in 1928 from Florey's at Oxford in 1940, when Sir Ernst Chain thought Fleming already dead. Florey was an editor of the journal which published Fleming's paper. So Florey missed its significance equally with its author.

Had Fleming isolated and proved penicillin—he had the generous facilities of Sir Almroth Wright's inoculation department to do so—all mankind would have benefited from penicillin before the Second World War. Instead, it was a weapon of the Allies, denied the Nazis and Japanese.

I do not believe that Florey would have seen the properties of penicillin had his eyes not been opened by the sulpha drugs, the first to cure the common bacterial diseases, which were establishing themselves by 1940. This group of drugs was discovered in Germany by Professor Domagk, a month before Hitler came to power in 1933.

Research for my novel on the discovery of penicillin, *The Invisible Victory*, showed not Domagk, but the unknown Professor Hörlein, first conceived changing the chemical structure of sulpha carpet dyes to make them medicaments. Hörlein we should perhaps acknowledge as the spiritual father of all modern chemotherapy. He was tried and acquitted at Nürnberg in 1948 for supplying the SS with Zyklon-B gas. I am, etc.

From the Director of the Victoria  
and Albert Museum

Sir, Perhaps you will allow me to answer Mr Alderson's ungenerous article (June 1) about the Francis Williams Prize. In the Museum's judgment the interests of the price and of book illustrators are better served by a quinquennial award of £500 followed by a large and important exhibition than by a small annual award which he would propose. The £1 handling fee for each entry is paid to the National Book Club, who, in organizing the prize jointly with the Museum, solely for the expenses of the competition. The entire costs of the exhibition that follows the award are borne by the Museum which also gives it full publicity coverage.

Entries for the competition are invited by the National Book League. I understand that the recently founded Association of Book Illustrators, who are anxious to see the many other interested parties, were informed of it. Every opportunity was given for competitors to submit entries for judging including an extended closing date. It was arranged for the judging of the competition the Museum is anxious above all to secure a broad and impartial view, with no prejudice for or against any current style or illustration. This is why we do not impose the stylistic criteria on entrants which Mr Alderson would not like. This approach honours the intention of the bequest which was to encourage the whole art of book illustration by rewarding published work of quality.

ROY STRONG.

From Mr Ben Vincenz

Sir, I hate to cross swords, or whatever Christians cross, with our delightful Dean (Letters, May 31) especially as I am wholly in favour of the King of the Mountains. The official Levantine George; but Alban could hardly become patron saint of the English. Of the British perhaps. If he'd ever heard of the English it was of a gang of ferocious pagans across the North Sea. The legends of becoming a patron saint have caused his eyeballs to pop out like those of his executioner. When they did arrive here they drove Alban's compatriots into Wales and established the cult of *Woden and Thor*—any medieval little church in Britain dedicated to St Cadog with an inscription to the effect that he was *Angle's de nation, né à Glamorgan!* The aisle is strewn with the eyeballs of

Alban was unrecognised by the English until when they were converted they copied their arrogant founder Augustine's of Canterbury in bullying the Celtic church into submission. Alban was evidently forgotten even in Verulam when our Abbey was founded, for no saint was named to it and those said to be still flusters at its pole. I don't think a single English place-name stems from Alban, for even 'St Alban's Head' in Dorset is more correctly St Aldhelm's. The secret of Alban's obscurity lies in the confusion of the English because he exemplifies a mixture of pity and the glowing characteristic of the second and subsequent generations of English saints, who were almost, like St Cuthbert, who were a good candidate for the

But surely Alfred ! Why don't the  
C of E canonise him ? Or there's  
dear Bede. Both were very English,  
humane, sensible and tough as Enn-  
lish beef. A less reverent proposal  
or canon saint could be Swithun,  
not dry though.

Yours, etc.

BEN VINCENT  
Hawthorne Road,  
Ludlett via St Albans,  
Herts

From Mr Denis J. Barlow  
 Sir, Few noticed or remember that  
 was during the early hours of  
 Alban's day (according to the  
 Common Calendar) in 1941, Sunday  
 June 22, that Hitler attacked Russia.  
 Surely on that day England's  
 enemies were scattered!—perhaps  
 the intercession of the Protectors  
 of England?  
 Yours faithfully,  
 DENIS J. BARLOW,  
 Walsbrook Place,  
 King's Lynn, Norfolk.







# Israel and the Arabs, Six Days and ten years later



The Six-Day War: Israeli boys from a kibbutz moving up to the front line near Jerusalem.

anniversary of the war coincides with the day of the newly-elected Knesset. It is a date of significance in the annals of the struggle to defend its place in an adverse and to protect its democracy in a vast of autocracy, where peace nor freedom

anniversaries should be for remembrance but not for celebration. Even the day of the victory cannot be a day of triumph, for the shadows of death, if 1967 was the third anniversary of a state of

remains of the state of Israel, very day of its independence. tremendous odds valied over the forces its destruction. It is Egyptian armies invade it from the broke the strategic blockade to sever its vital communications. The Syrian forces covering the heights of the Golan, from which they had for 20 years killed five peacekeepers in the fertile Upper Galilee. If the Jordanian forces launched their attack from within the Jordan. As the result of the attack, which the West Bank, which it unilaterally annexed its military conquest. Inevitably, the area which the Jordanians withdrew became the dual and administrative responsibility of Israel.

des of freedom-loving to rejoice in Israel's

and obscuring the rights, the then Israeli Government of National Unity conveyed to the Arab governments before the end of June 1967, its views on a peace settlement. The proposals were drafted with utmost care, and it is not to hurt the Arab pride, or to create upsurging changes. They were meant to initiate peace negotiations, not on terms of unconditional surrender dictated by Israel, after it had emerged victorious from 25 years of warfare waged against it, but were inspired by the desire to achieve mutual accommodation and security on the grounds of reciprocal recognition of the sovereign equality of both sides.

The Arab response was a right rejection. The triple negation of "no recognition, no negotiation and no peace with Israel" became the guiding policy of the Arab states, as they were in mid-summer 1967, at their conference in Khartoum. Neither Security Council Resolution 242—which affirmed that lasting peace must be achieved by agreement between the parties on the mutual recognition of their right to national independence and the redeployment of forces behind secure and recognized boundaries—nor the multiple efforts of intermediaries to devise ingenious formulas to bring the two sides together, succeeded in breaking the Khartoum wall of rigid refusal and opening the door to the negotiating chamber of yielding consent.

Unfortunately, Arab and Israeli concepts on the solution of the conflict have so far remained fundamentally opposed. The Arab side seeks to recover political and territorial positions enabling it to jeopardize Israel's sovereign existence whose legitimacy they have refused to recognize unequivocally until this very day. There is no hard evidence that the basic Arab aim has changed or that the dissolution of Israel. It has been camouflaged in a variety of disguises fashioned to the tastes of the times. A secular Arab state in which to drown Jewish independence, a Jewish state in which to throw the Jews into the sea. For those who have been deluded by deceptive labels, the gruesome events in Lebanon can serve as an eye-opener. There Arabist treated the people of Lebanon to a trial run of the model of the Palestinian non-secularist state.

Since the end of the Six-Day War 10 years ago, the Arab governments, while not always of one mind on their tactics, did not deviate from their ultimate strategic aim. They pursued it by cunning threat and well-timed mixture of economic pressures

and anti-Jewish slander in trying to revoke the slumbering ghosts of a not too distant past. They leapt with agility back and forth from one power camp to the other. They progressed from military strikes to the all-out onslaught of the Yom Kippur War.

When the fortunes of war turned and the attacking Syrian and Egyptian armies were defeated and driven back, they accepted Security Council Resolution 338. They promised to observe a complete ceasefire and to enter into negotiations with Israel in order to establish a final and comprehensive settlement. Yet they turned the Geneva conference into a lively propaganda forum instead of using it as a durable instrument for meaningful negotiation. They obstructed its continuation by reneging on its agreed terms of commitment and procedure. They pose as the standard-bearers of peace and threaten to shut the flow of oil and to open the floodgates of war. This policy is presented and propagated as a balanced "moderation", while in fact it is the central cause for a decade of diplomatic deadlock, all-round frustration and a state of unabated tension.

What was the Israeli policy during that period? At the end of the fighting in 1967, it offered reasonable peace proposals. It suggested immediate direct negotiations. It accepted Resolution 242 as guidelines for a peace settlement. It consented to negotiate under the auspices of the United Nations representative. When this was turned down, it accepted the American idea of "proximity talks", where the parties would remain out of eyesight and earshot, lodged on separate hotel floors with an American diplomat shuttling between.

While the working of this unusual conveyance was still under discussion between the United States Secretary of State and the foreign ministers of Egypt and Israel, on October 4, the President of Egypt and Syria decided to launch the Yom Kippur War two days later. At the end of the war, Damascus was in range of Israel's guns, its troops were on the road to Cairo, and the Egyptian Third Army was hopelessly encircled. Israel agreed to lift the siege. It concluded a separation of forces agreement which entailed the withdrawal of its forces from both sides of the Suez Canal, facilitating its reopening. Although Israel had accepted the Council Resolution 338 with the explicit understanding that it meant face-to-face negotiations with the Arab states, it participated in the Geneva conference even when that assumption proved illusory. Israel reiterated its willingness to conclude comprehensive

peace treaties with each of the Arab states. It withdrew its forces from Kuneitra on the Golan Heights, and from the Gulf of Suez. It kept the bridges over the Jordan River open for the Arab population of the West Bank and hundreds of thousands of visitors from Arab countries to go back and forth, even in the middle of the Yom Kippur War fighting. It opened its protective fence on the Lebanese border to provide humanitarian aid and rescue to the victims of the savage civil war. It offered wide opportunities of employment in Israel to workers from the West Bank and Gaza area. It assisted in the modernization of their farming, increasing yields and income to hitherto unknown heights.

All this contributed to better human understanding on a direct people-to-people basis, a prerequisite for the growth of good relations. Israel has reiterated its willingness to participate in the search for an equitable solution of the problem of the Palestinians. It has reaffirmed again and again its readiness to resume the Geneva conference at any time in accordance with its agreed terms, procedure and composition. Such is the record of Israel's policy for the past 10 years. Unfortunately, however, on the political balance sheet, the assets of Israel's initiative are outweighed by the liabilities of Arab rejection. And still deceptive propaganda tries to deny Israel's attitude is the same of intransigence. If the demand of unconditional surrender to the diktat of

unreconciled adversaries unable to impose their designs by the force of arms is described as "moderation" and the proposal for unconditional negotiations is depicted as "intransigence", then, indeed, the practitioners of the semantic fraud have succeeded in giving currency to their counterfeited vocabulary. Political contortions which endanger the national backbone are not signs of flexibility, but attempts at national suicide.

It is not Israel's alleged rigidity which has forestalled the advent of peace. It is the obstinate Arab refusal to concede to Israel the same rights of independent sovereign existence as it had claimed and achieved for all parts of the Arab nation in such abundant measure. There is only one homeland for the Jewish people

where it can cherish its spiritual identity, its national freedom and its untrammelled individual liberties. That land is soaked with the sweat of its redeemers who toiled to restore a wasteland created by centuries of neglect to its ancient beauty and its modern bounty. It is an achievement to be emulated, not to be menaced.

There is no lack of home-steads for any part of the family of Arab peoples among their kith and kin in the vast expanse of the Arab world. What is lacking is the vision of the blessings of peaceful neighbourly relations where wide-sweeping cooperation would replace narrow-minded rancour and prejudice. Such cooperation has been Israel's lasting inspiration from the time it discovered its national and spiritual identity more than three mil-

lennia ago. It has remained its guiding aspiration from the day it remerged to independence. It has persevered in its quest for peace in the course of the past 10 years.

The stronger all the peoples of the Middle East feel the urge to abandon the ways of war, which in its modern-day dimensions would be unmitigated disaster for all of them, and the sooner they embark on the road of peaceful cooperation, the faster they will liberate themselves from the burden of war and attain the freedom of plenty. May the tenth anniversary of the Six-Day War be the turning-point, and the Ninth Knesset become the Parliament of Peace.

Gideon Raphael

## LET CONSTITUTION

### Rights of constituent republics of the Soviet Union defined in text of new constitution

from page 5

118. The President of the Soviet Union shall be elected from among the constituent republics of the Soviet Union for a term of five years. The first vice-president, residents, is, one from each republic, a secretary of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, and one from the Soviet Union.

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# Local Government, Public & Educational Appointments

**SECRETARIAL**

**GERMAN?**

Immediate vacancies for two capable and German-speaking secretaries (one shorthand and one typist) with personal and professional references. Take-home pay £250 p.w.

Please apply to: Miss V. Jones, 82 Portchester Rd., London, W.2. Telephone 81-723 2307.

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£3,500

Major Merchant Bank director, 12 years' experience in international banking, is seeking a young, energetic, and capable person to work in a key role in the bank's London office. The successful candidate will be responsible for a wide range of international banking and financial services. Salary £3,500 p.w. plus benefits. Please apply to: Mr. J. Smith, 10, The Times, London, W.2.

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approx. 4 days per week, 10.30 am to 4.30 pm. Salary £1,200 p.w. plus benefits. Please apply to: Mr. J. Smith, 10, The Times, London, W.2.

## Local Government, Public & Educational Appointments

### ULSTER: THE NEW UNIVERSITY

Vacancies exist for two professional posts in the New University of Ulster Library at Coleraine.

**7/7/77**

**Sub-Librarian (Sciences)**

Essential requirements are a degree in one of the physical or biological sciences and a professional qualification in librarianship. Salary scale: £3,333-£6,666 p.a. annual.

**7/7/77**

**Assistant Librarian (a) or Senior Library Assistant (b)**

to take control of the main issues desk (fully automated and using a computer system). Essential requirements are a degree in one of the physical or biological sciences and a professional qualification in librarianship. Salary scale: £3,333-£6,666 p.a. annual.

Applications should be sent to the Registrar, The New University of Ulster, Coleraine, Northern Ireland BT52 1SA (quoting appropriate reference No.), to whom completed applications, including the names and addresses of three referees, should be returned not later than 30th June, 1977.

### WORCESTER AND ST. HILDA'S COLLEGES, OXFORD

**CENTRAL ELECTRICITY GENERATING BOARD RESEARCH FELLOWSHIP IN ENGINEERING SCIENCE**

Applications are invited for a C.E.G.B. Research Fellowship from candidates wishing to work in the Oxford University Engineering Laboratory on research relevant to the wide interests of the C.E.G.B. The Fellowship will be awarded to a graduate in one of the physical or biological sciences and a professional qualification in librarianship. Salary scale: £3,333-£6,666 p.a. annual.

### University of Glasgow

#### LECTURESHIP IN ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Applications are invited for a Lectureship in Animal Husbandry. The successful candidate will be responsible for the teaching of animal husbandry to students of the University of Glasgow. Salary scale: £3,333-£6,666 p.a. annual.

### DOVER COLLEGE

#### HOME INDEPENDENT CO-EDUCATIONAL BOARD

Applications are invited for a Lectureship in Animal Husbandry. The successful candidate will be responsible for the teaching of animal husbandry to students of the University of Glasgow. Salary scale: £3,333-£6,666 p.a. annual.

### University of Birmingham

**MECHANICAL ENGINEERING RESEARCH STUDENTSHIP**

The Science Research Council has awarded a research studentship to a graduate in one of the physical or biological sciences and a professional qualification in librarianship. Salary scale: £3,333-£6,666 p.a. annual.

### University of Warwick

**RESEARCH STUDENTSHIPS IN ECONOMIC HISTORY**

The Department of Economics has awarded research studentships to graduates in one of the physical or biological sciences and a professional qualification in librarianship. Salary scale: £3,333-£6,666 p.a. annual.

### University of London

#### CHAIR OF PHYSICAL CHEMISTRY AT IMPERIAL COLLEGE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Applications are invited for a Chair of Physical Chemistry at Imperial College of Science and Technology. The successful candidate will be responsible for the teaching of physical chemistry to students of the University of London. Salary scale: £3,333-£6,666 p.a. annual.

### University of Edinburgh

#### TEMPORARY LECTURER IN SOCIOLOGY

Applications are invited for a Temporary Lecturer in Sociology. The successful candidate will be responsible for the teaching of sociology to students of the University of Edinburgh. Salary scale: £3,333-£6,666 p.a. annual.

### Properties under £25,000

**SOUTH KENSINGTON**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

**LITTLE VENICE**

Stunning house in a quiet area, close to the sea. Price £25,000.

**LUXURY CHELSEA BACHELOR FLAT IN PRESTIGE BLOCK**

Modern, fully equipped, and comfortable. Price £25,000.

**DULWICH**

Detached house in a quiet area, close to the sea. Price £25,000.

**MOLESLEY**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

**OASIS, W.3**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

**STOUTS HILL SCHOOL**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

**NOTICE TO HOLDERS OF LAND BONDS**

Notice is hereby given that a drawing of the Land Bonds will be held on 15th June 1977.

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### Country property

**WEDMORE - COMERSET**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

**COUNTRY FLATS**

Modern, fully equipped, and comfortable. Price £25,000.

**PROPERTY TO LET**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

**MORTGAGES**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

**HOUSEKEEPER REQUIRED**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

**KINDLY GENTLE LADY**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

**COME AND ENJOY A VACATION**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

**AU PAIR BUREAU**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

**BEST TEMPORARY JOBS**

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**EXPERIENCED COOK FOR RESTAURANT**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

**WANTED - COOK**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

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### DOMESTIC SITUATIONS

**COOK**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

**COOK AND HOUSEMAN**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

**FRENCH-SPEAKING NANNY/MOTHER'S HELP**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

**AUTUMN IN PARIS**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

**RESPONSIBLE CHEERFUL NANNY REQUIRED**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

**FLAT SHARING**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

**RENTALS**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

**WHY LEAVE YOUR PROPERTY**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

**PARIS LANE**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

**WANTED - COOK**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

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## Tempting Times

**TALENTED TEMPS BEGIN**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

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Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

**JUST IN CASE YOU FORGET**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

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**ALANCAFE Legal Staff**

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Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

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Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

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Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

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**Thames**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

**ATV**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

**Southern**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

**Granada**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

**HTV**

Large double bedroom with fitted cupboards, modern bathroom, shower, and large kitchen. Price £25,000.

## SCHOLARSHIPS AND FELLOWSHIPS

**STOUTS HILL SCHOOL**

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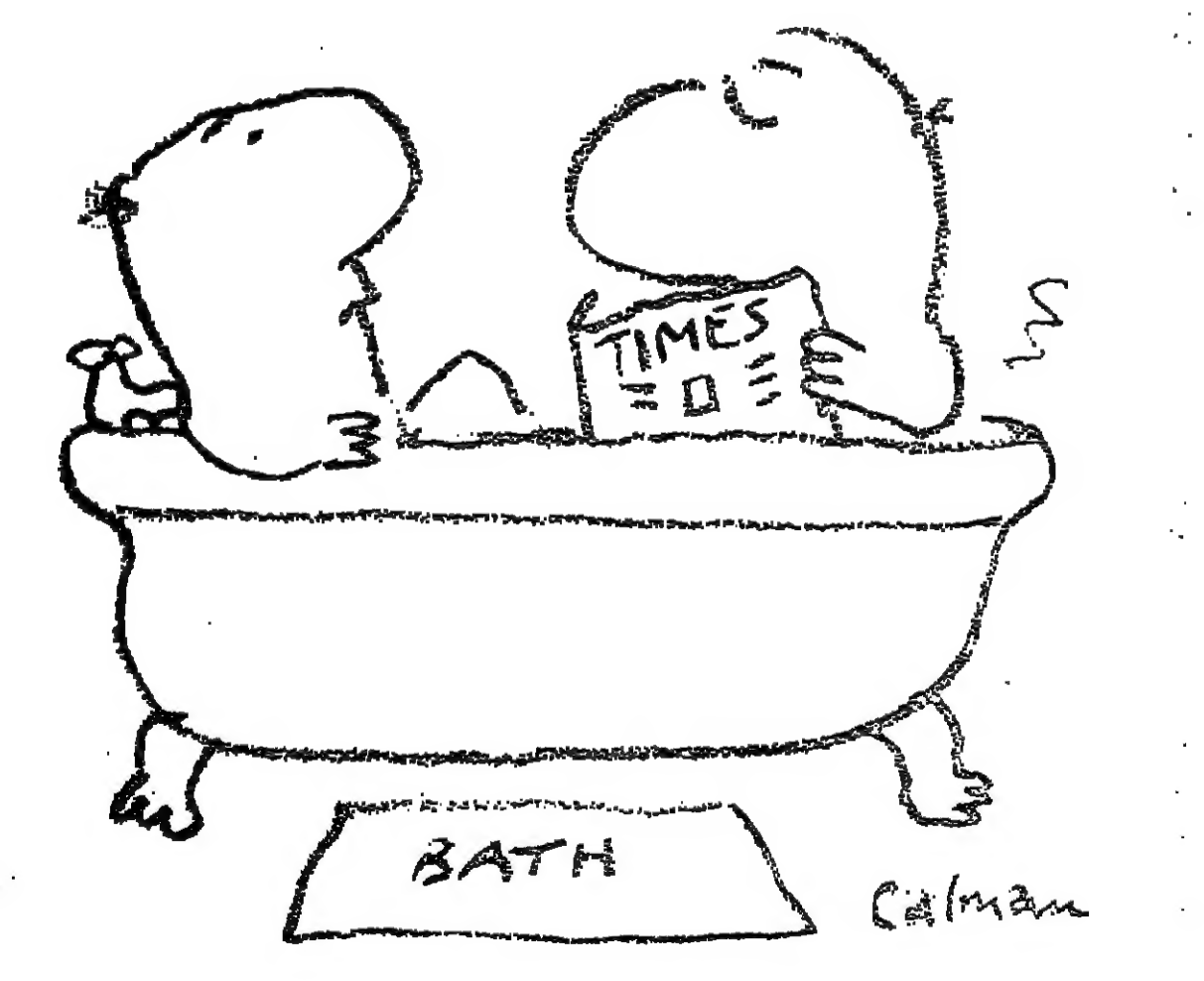
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The Times 'Flat-Sharing' & 'Rental' columns appear daily. Whether you're looking for a 3rd person to share your flat, or wishing to let a house or flat, for a long or short period, you'll find the ideal people in The Times. Quickly and cheaply.

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GRACE is in your home: From 10.30 a.m. to 1.30 p.m. on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday, and Sunday. Please call 01-837 3311 for more information.

**BIRTHS**  
ANDREWS—On 25th May, an only son, James Andrew, to Mr. and Mrs. J. Andrew, of 10, St. Paul's Road, London. Birth weight 7lb 10oz. Ailsa, daughter, born 1976.

EDLIN DE LA PRADE—On 25th May, a son, James, to Mr. and Mrs. J. de la Prade, of 10, St. Paul's Road, London. Birth weight 7lb 10oz. Ailsa, daughter, born 1976.

FORSTER—On 25th May, a son, James, to Mr. and Mrs. J. Forster, of 10, St. Paul's Road, London. Birth weight 7lb 10oz. Ailsa, daughter, born 1976.

HEATH—On 25th May, a son, James, to Mr. and Mrs. J. Heath, of 10, St. Paul's Road, London. Birth weight 7lb 10oz. Ailsa, daughter, born 1976.

MAIR—On 25th May, a son, James, to Mr. and Mrs. J. Mair, of 10, St. Paul's Road, London. Birth weight 7lb 10oz. Ailsa, daughter, born 1976.

WILLIAMS—On 25th May, a son, James, to Mr. and Mrs. J. Williams, of 10, St. Paul's Road, London. Birth weight 7lb 10oz. Ailsa, daughter, born 1976.

**BIRTHDAYS**  
FOOT—Congratulations on your fifth birthday from family, friends and friends.

**MARRIAGES**  
TOMNER BEADSWORTH—On 25th May, at St. Paul's Church, London, the marriage of Miss Beadsworth to Mr. Tomner, both of 10, St. Paul's Road, London.

HOWARD ASKWITH—On 25th May, at St. Paul's Church, London, the marriage of Miss Askwith to Mr. Howard, both of 10, St. Paul's Road, London.

**DEATHS**  
BULMAN—On 25th May, at St. Paul's Church, London, the death of Mr. Bulman, aged 75. Buried in the churchyard.

WILLIAMS—On 25th May, at St. Paul's Church, London, the death of Mr. Williams, aged 75. Buried in the churchyard.

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## DEATHS

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## ANNOUNCEMENTS

**CANCER RESEARCH**  
I wish I could do something to help cancer research. You can help by donating to the Cancer Research Campaign. Your donation will help to fund research into the causes of cancer and the best ways to treat it. Please send your gift to: Cancer Research Campaign, 10, St. Paul's Road, London. Birth weight 7lb 10oz. Ailsa, daughter, born 1976.

**ROLLS-ROYCE**  
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On Tuesday, June 21st, the Times is presenting another Roll-Royce and Family Special. The 3th in the present very special series of Roll-Royce and Family Specials. For further information and booking details, please call 01-837 3311.

**CANCER RESEARCH CAMPAIGN**  
Is the largest single supporter in the U.K. of research into all types of cancer. Help us to conquer cancer. Your donation will help to fund research into the causes of cancer and the best ways to treat it. Please send your gift to: Cancer Research Campaign, 10, St. Paul's Road, London. Birth weight 7lb 10oz. Ailsa, daughter, born 1976.

**LUXURY FLAT**  
South Kensington, suitable for two people. Two bedrooms, two bathrooms, central heating, double glazing, and a large garden. Call 01-837 3311 for more information.

**HEAD OF WOODWORK**  
At Kent Public School will offer his skills in woodwork. He is a highly skilled craftsman with many years of experience. Call 01-837 3311 for more information.

**JUBILEE AND ASCOT**  
Vacancies for experienced and enthusiastic staff. We are looking for people who can provide excellent service to our customers. Call 01-837 3311 for more information.

**CHER ROU DU PERS**  
The 'Cher Rou du Pers' is a highly skilled craftsman with many years of experience. He is currently looking for a new challenge. Call 01-837 3311 for more information.

**ROOM WANTED**  
Level level. I am looking for a room to rent. It should be in a quiet area and have good transport links. Call 01-837 3311 for more information.

**BE A GOOD NEIGHBOUR**  
We are looking for a good neighbour. You should be friendly, helpful, and have a good sense of humour. Call 01-837 3311 for more information.

**DESIGN ASSISTANT**  
Interior design. We are looking for a design assistant. You should have a degree in interior design and be able to assist with the design process. Call 01-837 3311 for more information.

**CLUB ANNOUNCEMENTS**  
The New Glastonbury. We are having a special event on June 21st. It will be a night of music and dancing. Call 01-837 3311 for more information.

**THE LONDON DUNGEON**  
Friday, June 24th, at 9 pm. Tickets £25 per pair. The most brilliant of the year. Call 01-837 3311 for more information.

**WORK SPACE**  
For freelance design. We are looking for a freelance designer. You should have a degree in design and be able to work independently. Call 01-837 3311 for more information.

**WINE AND DINE**  
To all my friends and customers. We are having a special event on June 21st. It will be a night of wine and dining. Call 01-837 3311 for more information.

**FLY HIGH**  
Prices begin. We are having a special event on June 21st. It will be a night of flying. Call 01-837 3311 for more information.

**ATHENS '77**  
Now looking for summer staff. We are looking for people who can provide excellent service to our customers. Call 01-837 3311 for more information.

**HOLIDAYS AND VILLAS**  
Late booking extra. We are having a special event on June 21st. It will be a night of holidays and villas. Call 01-837 3311 for more information.

**JUBILEE AND ASCOT**  
Special feature. We are having a special event on June 21st. It will be a night of jubilee and ascot. Call 01-837 3311 for more information.

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